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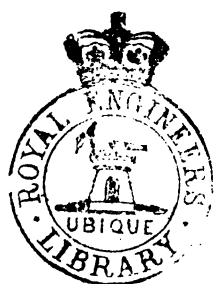
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**MEMOIRS**  
ON THE  
**IONIAN ISLANDS,**  
CONSIDERED IN A  
**COMMERCIAL, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY,**  
**LONDON POINT OF VIEW;**

IN WHICH  
THEIR ADVANTAGES OF POSITION ARE DESCRIBED, AS WELL  
AS THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE GREEK CONTINENT:

INCLUDING  
**THE LIFE AND CHARACTER**  
OF  
**ALI PACHA,**  
THE PRESENT RULER OF GREECE;

TOGETHER WITH A COMPARATIVE DISPLAY OF THE ANCIENT AND  
MODERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE EPIRUS, THESSALY, MOREA,  
PART OF MACEDONIA, &c. &c.

BY  
**GEN. GUILLAUME DE VAUDONCOURT,**  
LATE OF THE ITALIAN SERVICE.

*Translated from the Original inedited MS.*

By **WILLIAM WALTON, Esq.**

—  —  
**LONDON:**

**PRINTED FOR BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY,**  
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**1816.**



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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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**T**HE acquisition of a new country cannot fail to excite a degree of interest in the public mind, and a wish to be informed of the various aspects and relations under which it may be viewed. In accepting the protection of the Ionian Islands, Great Britain has, besides, to provide for the civil welfare of a considerable and interesting portion of population, and the merchant may also look to an extension of trade. To promote these two objects, as well as to develop the political advantages to be derived from an establishment at the head of the Mediterranean, as a means of better preserving the general equilibrium of Europe and guard-

ing against rival projects, constitutes a leading feature in the present work. The country alluded to has already been partially described by others on the score of science, antiquities, and even mineralogy; but it has not been considered in a political, commercial, or military point of view; nor has its ancient geography hitherto been correctly delineated, from a want of knowledge of its present situation and divisions, owing to the difficulty of access and the great changes therein lately experienced.

The position of the Ionian Islands will be found superior, in a variety of respects, to that of Malta; and of these its contiguity and relations with ancient Greece is not one of the least interesting. It is impossible to preclude feelings of regard for our masters in the arts and sciences, or to be indifferent when we behold the present situation of a people with whose former exploits we are familiar. This

great contrast can only result from the fidelity of the modern picture. In the present undertaking the department of biography will also receive a valuable acquisition in the Memoirs of Ali Pacha, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, whose feats and elevation have already furnished subject to song and romance, but whose real life, character, and means of aggrandisement, were never before known from an authentic source.

The relations of the French, as well as their means of access to Greece and the neighbouring islands, have certainly been more frequent and propitious to research than those of any other nation; whence it may be expected that the result of a large portion of their official and inedited information will meet with a favourable reception in an English dress, and unmixed with personal narrative. The general situation of the Ottoman empire in Europe, since the



period when, the conquests of the Osmanlis having ceased, their dominion in some measure became passive, is but partially known. The nature of the views entertained by the powers bordering on Turkey, as well as their mutual rivalry, does not even allow of that fallacious publicity, usually decorated with the title of Manifesto, which, if it does not convey the real motives of a war, at least enables the public to trace the projects of the aggressor. Whatever the diplomatic records of this country may possess, the public hitherto has nothing that exhibits the extensive plans of invasion and dismemberment framed against the Empire of the Crescent. This important matter has been carried on in silence and under cabinet-secrecy. Refined address, as well as deep and extensive machinations, had prepared the fall of the Ottoman power, and secured the interests of him by whose hand the revolution was to be

first agitated; and this event, very near thirty years ago, would have plunged the rest of Europe in an astonishment so much the greater, because no apparent symptoms had previously announced its approach. The elements then prepared still exist in the same hands; they can even be yet wielded with a double force; and though ambition has too long been the order of the day, it has possibly only changed scenes by the late occurrences in France.

The revolutions which for the last twenty-five years have shaken the states of Europe had left to Turkey a respite of peace, and this she might have improved in securing the means of defence, if her internal constitution had not been unfavourable. Whilst all the surrounding powers have gained strength, moral as well as physical, this empire alone now evinces symptoms of decrepitude; and it is only in foreign aid that a sustaining arm can be found. If any

continental combination does or can exist against the commerce of England, Turkey may be the theatre in which it is first displayed. If it accords with the interests of England to sustain the Ottoman throne, she has the most powerful bulwark in the possession of the Ionian Islands, which either in the hands of Russia or Austria must evidently promote its fall. One of the chief objects of the present work is, therefore, to evince that their occupation by British troops not only promotes the salvation of Turkey as an ally, but also tends effectually to consolidate the government and independence of the Septinsulars, whose fate during the last periods of their history has been peculiarly hard.

In the geographical nomenclature of this work the Turkish and Greek orthography has been preferred, except in a very small number of cases, in which general usage has too power-

fully prevailed. It has been considered useful to correct the defective orthography found in almost all modern maps and descriptions, by substituting one that may serve in the country itself; and this reform has been deemed the more essential, because the same method has also been followed in all the maps and works published of late years in France, Italy, and Germany. With regard to the translation, it can boast of nothing but fidelity; a few occasional notes have been added, designated in the usual manner, and as they are more explanatory than illustrative, it is hoped they will prove acceptable.

*London,*  
*May 31, 1816.*



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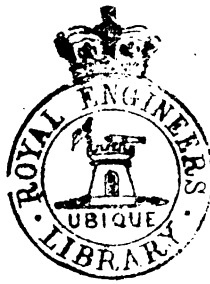
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THE

# IONIAN ISLANDS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

**A** SOLEMN Treaty has just acknowledged and guaranteed the independence of the Seven Islands, under the protection of Great Britain. Since the period when Europe beheld the tottering edifice of Venetian power crumble into dust, this is the third time that a transaction, signed by the High Powers, secures to the Ionian Islands their liberty and a rank among the States of Europe. By a happy combination of circumstances, the French revolution, spreading like a torrent over Italy, whose entire dominations were thereby swallowed up, had carried even as far as Ionia the sparks which, afterwards, served to revive sentiments time had been unable to destroy in the hearts of the Greeks. Without bringing in its train the evils which an exaggeration of democratical ideas and the ignorance of the true principles of civil liberty have always entailed on the first steps of every nation aiming

B

at a liberal government, the revolution which placed the Ionian Islands under the control of France recalled to the inhabitants the name of their country, which the Venetians in vain had endeavoured to obliterate from their minds. The very form of government which the French republic had introduced into conquered countries caused the interior administration to pass into the hands of native-born magistrates; and the Ionian people reconquered their language and their religion, and heard their name pronounced in public acts. Abuses, undoubtedly, occurred in the exercise of power on the part of French superior agents, and the military burdens must have pressed heavily on a country, whose chief resources consist in the prosecution of a commerce which then no longer existed. Yet these passing evils were forgotten by the mass of the Ionian nation, just emerging from a hard and disgraceful slavery; and shortly, among the great majority of the citizens there remained no other than the sentiment of civil liberty they enjoyed and the regeneration of their country, so long lorded over by the decrepid lion of St. Marc.

It is difficult to say what would have been the fate of the Ionian Islands, without the catastrophe which snatched them from the power of France. The circumstance, however, may be

considered extremely fortunate, which united two rival powers, jealous of each other, to effect their conquest. If either of the two had alone been able to attempt the enterprise, their independence was at an end: united to the dominions of the conqueror, by new revolutions they might possibly have changed their master, but the idea of their political existence would have disappeared from the memory of man, and been blotted out from the diplomatic archives. Russia and Turkey, unwilling to consent reciprocally to cede to each other this interesting conquest, delivered up the Ionian Islands to themselves, reserving only the rights of a common protection. We shall, hereafter, have occasion to show what were the effects of this double protection, and the causes which, shortly afterwards, placed it in the hands of Russia alone. The immediate consequence of this singular transaction, which gave rise to the creation of a republic by two of the most despotic states of Europe, whilst, at the same time, the French republic was erecting a kingdom,\* was to the advantage of the Ionian Islands. They were added to the catalogue of the States of Europe, their flag waved on the ocean, and their arms, composed of seven

\* This alludes to the creation of the kingdom of Epirus, in 1802.—Ta,

arrows bound together, announced that a new and united state existed in the Mediterranean.

The result of the disastrous war waged by Prussia and Russia against the French empire, in 1807, obliged the Seven Islands again to come under the dominion of the latter ; but the most important step towards their independence had already been taken, and it was, a second time, guaranteed to them, by a new treaty. Whatever, at that time, may have been the views of Napoleon on the Grecian continent ; whether it was, that he was contented, for the present, with having attained a most important object, in depriving the Russians of an establishment in the Mediterranean, for which they had long sighed, or whether he judged it necessary to temporize with the Ottoman Porte, whom the absolute possession of these islands would have too greatly alarmed, certain it is, he was satisfied with the title of protector, and it was on this footing that one of his deputies took possession.

The events of 1814 gave rise to a new political revolution in the affairs of Europe, the immediate effect of which was the dismemberment of the empire of Napoleon ; and among the consequences thence resulting, was the separation of the Ionian Islands from the influence of the French government. It was again,

at this period, a fortunate circumstance for these islands, that the naval forces of Great Britain were so near at hand. The weakness of the French government, and their distance from the general political interests of Europe, would have prevented France from promoting the welfare of so detached a state, even by giving it up; and the Seven Islands might have been exposed to the danger of being delivered up to themselves, by the retreat of the French troops, and of, perhaps, falling under the power of the ambitious Ali Pacha, before they could receive succours from any of the European powers. Now, however, their destinies are secured, and their independence acknowledged and entered among the component parts of the European edifice. In guaranteeing to them a protection so essentially necessary in their political infancy, and in the state of relative weakness under which they stand with regard to their neighbours, the foundations of their future prosperity and happiness have been laid.

An union of favourable circumstances, and a tendency uniform in itself, bear the Septinsulars on towards a total resurrection from that political death with which, for many ages, they had been struck. In the midst of the storms and revolutions which have destroyed or created



a part of the States of Europe, and afterwards shaken all, the above people have been led on, by a slow but continued progression, towards their independence and prosperity. This extraordinary phenomenon, though perhaps, in some measure, resulting from the progress of moral light and knowledge, which have extended their sphere throughout all Europe, must, necessarily, attract the attention of the philanthropic observer, and excite a lively interest in an enlightened public. All classes of readers must naturally be actuated by a wish to know and contemplate a people who, impelled by a combination of fortuitous events into the career of liberty and independence, now find themselves in the direction of a nation capable of guiding and securing its steps, in the rank and course to which it has been called.

Such are the motives which have influenced and determined the publication of the present memoir. The contents are not only the fruit of the observations the Author has been able to make on the spot, during the period of an interesting mission \* he was called upon to fulfil.

\* At the commencement of 1807, the Author was entrusted with a political mission near the Beys of Erzegovina, the Pacha of Scutari, that of Berat, and particularly Vizir Ali Pacha of Joannina. During the whole of the above

but, also, constitute the result of a variety of authentic and inedited materials, furnished by persons in office, of which he has been able to obtain communication or copies; materials so much the more interesting; because they were purposely drawn up to describe the situation and promote the welfare of the people to whom they allude. It would, undoubtedly, be possible to publish something more complete; it were vain pride to deny it; but no one can take from the Author the merit of his intentions, which are no other than to render his labours useful to the public. May the perusal of his work excite, in the hearts of his readers the same interest he himself feels for the descendants of our masters in the arts and sciences, and may it awaken feelings of regard towards a country where a wise, enlightened, and protecting government will so easily find the means of combining its own personal advantages with the good of humanity, and the glory of founding and securing the prosperity of a people formed to appreciate so great a benefit.

year, he resided in the states of Ali Pacha and at Corfu, and from that period has had frequent means of being fully acquainted with the affairs of that country. In 1807, he also directed the operations of the siege of St. Maura and the defence of Prevesa.—Tz.

The memoir now offered to the public principally contains and displays six particular subjects, which may be classed under the following heads, viz.—

1st. The general situation of Turkey in Europe, at the issue of the revolutions of the latter continent, together with the real advantages she ought to derive, with regard to her political existence, from the occupation of the Ionian Islands by Great Britain.

2d. The political state of the Ionian Islands under the Venetians; the influence of the vicissitudes they have experienced on the public mind of the Septinsulars, and the existing necessity they are under of obtaining an enlightened and protecting government, in order to direct and fix the course of their interior administration.

3d. The relations of the Ionian Islands with the continent of Greece; the advantages France and Russia thence derived during their possession of these islands, and the means of extending and improving these relations.

4th. The geographical and statistical description of the Seven Islands, and of the neighbouring continent of Greece, in conformity to ancient and modern geography. The present situation of the Epirus and South Albania, under the famous Ali Pacha; his history, and

the manner in which he has formed his states; his political position, and views on the Ionian Islands.

5th. A description of the manners, habits, and customs of the Septinsulars, and of the inhabitants of the neighbouring continent of Greece. A sketch of the active and passive trade, and the land communications of Corfu with European Turkey, together with their application, as well to the commerce now carried on, as that which might still be called forth.

6th. The military situation of Turkey in Europe, with a view to the projects of invasion by her neighbours; means of attack, and probabilities of defence.

In the construction of his work, the Author has by no means rigidly confined himself to the order and classification just pointed out. The course of events he has been obliged to follow, the connection of the direct bonds of one object with another among those he has treated, together with the accessary points he has had to present, as proofs or elucidations of his remarks, would otherwise have produced transitions more inconvenient to the reader than useful to his object. The purport and result of the thirteen chapters constituting this me-

moir, will present to the reader the aggregate of the points before laid down ; and the table of contents, by marking the place of each particular fact and object, will make up for the want of a more formal classification.

The work is accompanied by a detailed map, comprising the Seven Islands, South Albania, part of Macedonia, the Epirus, Thessaly, Livadia, and the Morea. This map has been constructed according to the observations of the Author on the spot, as well as in conformity to the memoirs and notes of Monsieur Pouqueville, French Consul at Joannina ; the researches of Monsieur Barbier Dubocage, aided by astronomical observations, fixed courses, and authentic itineraries ; nor does the Author hesitate to pledge that his map is absolutely new, and filled with details which have not hitherto met the public eye.

As, however, in a publication of this nature, it is not possible to present a map sufficiently large to satisfy any other than the common purposes of reading, Mr. John Cary, of the Strand, is preparing for publication, in four sheets, the Author's original map of Ancient and Modern Greece ; embracing the United Ionian Islands, the territories of Ali Pacha, and the Morea ; exhibiting their physical and political

divisions, roads, the distances from town to town, principal villages, with their modern and ancient names, chains of hills, rivers, &c. which will completely fill up the void the public has so long had to lament on this interesting portion of the globe, and not only highly illustrate the present memoir, but also serve as a guide to all other, ancient as well as modern, works written on the subject.



## CHAPTER I.

*Situation of the Ottoman Empire previous to the French Revolution.—Projects and Conduct of Russia and Austria.—The French Revolution has changed the Situation of the Ottoman Empire.—Position of Turkey from 1807 to 1812.—The Occupation of the Ionian Islands favourable to her.*

**AMIDST** the momentous revolutions which have, more or less, rent the various States of Europe, and broken down the political balance, one only has been able to preserve itself untouched, and remain a quiet spectator of the phases which have humbled or raised the others, tending to exhaust them all. Such has been the fortune of the Ottoman Empire. This exposition alone would suffice for the praises of its government, if so happy an exception had, or could have been, the result of a wise and enlightened conduct in times of danger and difficulty. It is, however, no other than the consequence of the inertness of a colossal power, which has no other weight in the political balance than that of its physical mass, rendered



foreign to the interests of its neighbours, and to all combined and regular relations therewith, by national ignorance and a diversity of religion. Turkey has thus been able to keep aloof from the vortex and point of contact with the other contending nations. The only reasonable consequence to be drawn from this singular phenomenon is, that the existence and result of the revolutions of Europe have served to prolong the duration of an enervated empire, and which, similar to those ancient monuments originally placed on solid foundations, still sustains itself on pilasters half mouldered away through the lapse of time.

Turkey may, consequently, now repose tranquil within the limits assigned to her by the last peace,\* which has only deprived her of a dis-

\* By this peace, signed between Russia and Turkey, in 1812, the first obtained possession of Bessarabia, as far as Pruth, and to the Danube. The strong places of Kilia and Ismail also fell into her power. By the possession of Kilia, the Russians became masters of the mouths of the Danube, and they are enabled to prevent the commerce of the Black Sea, carried on by the above river. Being already in possession of the Crimea, and of the port of Odessa, they were in no want of that of Kilia for commercial purposes; but the interruption of the trade of the Black Sea, by the Danube, will become extremely injurious to Austria, Hungary, and the interior provinces of Turkey, such as Bosnia and Servia. This is what the author has intended to convey. Tm.

strict of small extent, more useful to the other nations of Europe than it was to herself, or than it will be to the Russian government. The ambition of Russia and Austria has been awakened by other ailments, which draw the attention of these governments towards the west and south. Poland, Germany, and Italy present too vast a field open to systematic conceptions and hostile encroachments, not to absorb, for a long period of time, the thoughts of the chiefs forming the continental league. The power which, in the west of Europe, constituted a counterpoise useful to the preservation of Turkey, and still more so to stop the ambitious projects of Russia, has now become the object of a constraint extending from the east to the west of our continent; and this movement, contrary to that which might have been observed for more than twenty years past, removes still further from Turkey the idea of all continental danger.

Few years previous to the French revolution, the situation of the Ottoman Empire was quite different, and nothing more has frequently been wanting to its total destruction than the union and concert of the two neighbouring powers. The decline of the French monarchy, the first symptoms of which had appeared in the disastrous war of 1756, had taken from the Court of Versailles the greatest part of its influence in

the affairs of the east of Europe. The efforts expended by France on the ruinous war of America, and the weakness and frequent revolutions of her ministries, entirely deprived her of the action and credit which her position and real forces apparently had assigned to her in the political scale of Europe. The partition of Poland was effected without any opposition being attempted on her side, nor did she obtain or require a compensation due to her for the maintenance of the general equilibrium. This barrier, which separated Austria from Russia, and, as it were, divided the latter from the rest of the continent, being once overturned, these two empires found themselves in immediate contact. Both governed by sovereigns of superior merit, and of equal ambition, notwithstanding the one disguised his views under the cloak of glory, and the other of philanthropy, it became necessary for them mutually to contend, and attempt the destruction of each other, or else seek in another quarter a suitable field to satisfy their prevailing passions. The first alternative was too dangerous. Prussia, under the wise and glorious reign of the great Frederic, had acquired a real force, which gave to her an influence, still more increased by her vicinity; on whatever side she turned, she was sufficient to lower the scale. France could not be opposed

to her; the government of the latter already began to slide towards the precipice which a bad administration and numerous abuses had prepared, and where it soon afterwards found its tremendous destruction. Obligated, therefore, to respect each other mutually, the two empires, as if by one accord, directed their attention towards Turkey. Their first measures were not concerted, but they met in their political attempts, or sometimes guessed each others views, in which case policy obliged them to assume an apparent union, less to aid than to have a plausible pretext of thwarting each others ends. It was thus that the united attack of two powerful and well-governed empires against a tottering and debilitated empire was seen to produce nothing but the capture of Oczakow and Belgrade, soon afterwards followed by an extraordinary peace.

Notwithstanding this rivalry, marked by an apparent harmony, which at that time saved Turkey from the inevitable misfortune of falling a prey to the united efforts of her neighbours, she nevertheless had dangers to run, so much the greater, because the means by which they were excited were the more hidden. Each of the two neighbouring sovereigns secretly laboured to dismount the springs of the interior government of the Ottoman empire, to prepare

its Christian subjects for a general insurrection, and to combine all the means of being able to execute alone, by means of a sudden irruption, what one neither could nor wished to do in concert with his rival. We will take a rapid glance at the means which each respectively employed. This examination is so much the more useful, because the elements of which they then availed themselves still exist, the tendency of feeling is the same, and by the same circumstances can again be called forth.

An inedited Memoir, presented to the French government in the month of May, 1783, attributed to Monsieur Lafitte Clavé, furnishes interesting details respecting the situation of Turkey at that period, corresponding to that already pointed out as being the most dangerous to the Ottoman empire, and arising out of a want of credit sufficiently strong on the part of France in the affairs of the east of Europe, so as to enable her to take an active part therein. We shall here insert an extract from this Memoir, interesting in many respects, and particularly containing facts very little known.

“The projects of the Emperor and the Czarine,” says the Memoir, “are now no longer one of those events which the most profound policy can alone foresee; these two powers no longer dread the discovery of their hopes; they

do not cease to raise up new subjects of discussion, and their projects of usurpation are sustained by formidable preparations. The Turks themselves see the danger by which they are threatened; their terrors are as blind as was formerly their confidence in the days of success; and, under a state of absolute depression, they know not the resources which are still left them. The ministers seek to delay a rupture, whose consequences make them tremble; they rather wish to grant all, than to run the risks inseparable from a refusal, and by their inexhaustible weakness do nothing more than encourage their enemies to new demands. Anarchy, which always walks by the side of despotism, has spread complete desolation throughout all the provinces of the empire: the treasures of the sovereign have been exhausted in the last war, and his unlimited authority deprives him of all the resources which credit offers to princes faithful in complying with their engagements. The navy destroyed at Tchesmé \* has been unable to recover from its losses."

The violence also of a rapid current, and the frequency of the north winds, obstacles which

\* The harbour of Tchesmé is on the coast of Natolia, nearly opposite to the island of Scio. It was here that the Turkish fleet was surprized and burnt by the Russians, in 1770.—Tr.

nature has united for the defence of the Dardanelles, on the contrary, become the means of facilitating the passage of the Bosphorus, when coming from the Black Sea. The north winds, in 48 hours, bring vessels from the mouth of the Berysthenes to the entrance of the Bosphorus, where the waters rush with great violence, and whence a fleet, impelled by the force of the stream, and passing rapidly under the ill-directed fire of a few mean castles, in three hours would anchor at the foot of the Seraglio. Besides, the six castles which defend the Bosphorus are no other than old and mouldering towers, flanked by unterraced walls, which, notwithstanding their numerous artillery, would be unable to resist the first cannon-ball. The castles nearest to the Black Sea were built by Baron de Tott; but, beyond doubt, shackled by the avarice and prejudice of the Turks, they are no other than elevated batteries, without any casemates to cover the garrison, and of which the guns, the same as the others, are placed on beds of brick instead of carriages.

Such is the state of that capital, "the fate of which," says the author of the Memoir already quoted, "*would have already been decided, if Russia possessed on the Black Sea forces as considerable as her interests required, and could boast subjects worthy of executing her views.*" Peter

the Great, too much borne away by the wish of raising his name in Europe, and too much influenced by the praises lavished upon him, cast his eyes towards the east, when the time was gone by. His attention to that quarter would, nevertheless, have produced greater utility than the ruinous foundation of St. Petersburg, whilst Moscow, placed in the centre of the empire, seemed peculiarly formed to be the capital. The unfortunate capitulation of Pruth obliged him to renounce his projects, and death surprised him before he had been able to remedy this delay.

Catherine II. resumed the projects of Peter the Great with activity; and the first step she took towards the depression and future fall of the Ottoman empire was to stipulate the independence of the Crimea. This independence was ruinous to the Tartars, whom it delivered over to Russia, by depriving them of the subsidies of Turkey. Hence did the Crimea refuse to accept of the independence imposed; and if, for the first time, a people were seen rejecting the benefits of liberty, so dear to the heart of man, it was only because they calculated their real interests. Turkey herself would thereby have lost a powerful aid, so useful to her against Russia. In short, in the year 1782, Russia was successful in placing on the throne



a Kahn subservient to her will; and, availing herself of the troubles excited by the hatred of his own nation, she took possession of the Crimea.

In vain did the people of Constantinople loudly display their indignation against this manifest violation of treaties. The Ottoman ministry, fully aware of the impossibility of sustaining a war for the defence of the Tartars, refused to take cognizance of the affairs of the Crimea; and this forced silence only helped to encourage the Russians in the execution of their projects.

Russia, released from all care on the side of the Crimea, and having secured the means of commanding in the Black Sea, turned her attention towards Moldavia and Valachia. She granted her protection to the Hospodars\* of these two provinces; and in seeking to withdraw them from the immediate apprehensions of the Porte, and obtaining for them the privilege of being exempt from deposition, prepared the seeds of the interior troubles which were to furnish her with the pretext of entering into

\* Hospodar, or Gospodar, (in Russian, ГОСПОДАР), in the Sclavonian language signifies Lord, but, in its political acceptation, this title is equivalent to that of Sovereign Prince. It is what the Greeks, since the time of Constantine, call Despots (Δεσποται).—Tr.

these provinces, and taking possession of the principal places.

The direct projects of Catherine II. on Turkey were not confined to the European part. She laboured in the construction of a navy at Kerson and Astracan, and formed establishments on the Caspian Sea. She favoured the ambitious views of Prince Heraclius, Sovereign of Georgia, on Persia, and furnished him with the means of arming and maintaining numerous bodies of troops. Russia thus prepared for herself the means of attacking the Ottoman empire, by its Asiatic possessions. In order to give a greater facility to her projects, she encouraged, in a clandestine manner, the species of open revolt which at that time existed on the part of the Pachas of Trebizonde and Bagdad, as well as the famous Bey Kara Osman Oglou. Near the Pacha of Trebizonde she had a competitor in the Emperor of Austria, who, in that quarter, negotiated with him, through the medium of Mr. Herbert.

The Emperor Joseph II. was acting in West Turkey, with an activity equal to that of Catherine. Having a military establishment too disproportioned to the resources of his realm, he sought to increase his commerce, and to avail himself of this necessary extension, in order to attain the objects of aggrandisement he pro-

posed. He commenced by the navigation of the Danube, when several large barges, under Austrian colours, were seen at Kilia, and seemed shortly to announce the appearance of the same flag in the Black Sea, since it would not have been possible to refuse him this privilege. The first result of this new vent opened to his commerce was all in favour of Hungary, whom it enriched; and the second was that of ascertaining and observing the progress of Russia on the Black Sea, as well as her manœuvres in Moldavia, and more especially in Valachia.

Under the pretext of furnishing Hungary with cultivators, of which she stands in need, in order to make the most of an excellent soil, he sought to induce Greeks to fix their residence there. He not only favoured the emigration of whole families seeking to fly from the oppression of their masters, but he also spread decoyers in the most distant provinces of his dominions, who easily persuaded the unhappy, borne down by a barbarous despotism, to fly from the yoke of tyranny, reducing them to despair. By these measures Joseph kept up a correspondence, and obtained partisans in all parts of Greece. Another not less efficacious mean was, at the same time, employed by him, viz. his edict of toleration, issued in 1782. He therein formally promised the Greeks, who might come to esta-

blish themselves within his states, to admit them to all civil and military dignities, according to their merits. A great number of Greeks flocked there from all parts; many formed establishments in Trieste and Fiume, and rendered the communications of trade between Turkey and Austria considerably more active. Others were admitted into the military service, and the Emperor employed them with success in preparing the materials for a general insurrection, and to facilitate an invasion, by obtaining for him a perfect knowledge of the means of defence possessed by the Turks.

He kept up a large number of emissaries in Albania; a province then as independent of Turkey as it is at present, and of which all the inhabitants, as well Musselmans as Christians, have the most marked aversion for the Osmanlis.\* This brave people are as jealous of their independence as they were when Scanderbeg, at the head of a few thousands of these intrepid soldiers, triumphed over the Ottoman power, at a time when the whole of Europe trembled before it. The promises of the Em-

\* This is the title assumed by the Musselman subjects in the Ottoman empire. The name of Turk is, in fact, an injurious epithet, though now in common use. In the provinces of Turkey, the descendants of the ancient conquerors are generally called Osmanlis.—Tr.

peror's agents staggered the Greeks; a considerable number of them enlisted in the Austrian regiments, and the most respected bishops, whom he had sufficient address to gain over by presents, served to keep alive the good dispositions entertained in his favour. The Archbishop of Patras, Parthenius, who had been one of the most ardent in stirring up the Morea in favour of Russia, in the year 1770, and who had been obliged to take refuge at Petersburg, was allured to Pesth, where Joseph made a handsome provision for him, and whence he carried on an active correspondence with Greece.

The interesting position of Montenegro, \*

\* Montenegro, in Turkish, *Karatag*, and in Sclavonian, *Czerno Gori*, is a mountainous and arid district, situated between Albania, Erzegovina, and Dalmatia. On the south it is bordered by Pastrovick and the cantons of Antivari and Dulcigno; to the east, by the lake of Scutari and the river Moraca; to the north, by the duchy of Erzegovina, and to the west, by Cattaro. The Montenegrinos, under the government of their Greek bishop, have always supported their independence against the Turks, and are allied by a species of confederation with the Albanian Mountaineers called Cuzzi, Clementi, and Pipari. These different people, during the existence of the Servian empire, formed the duchy of Zenta, the portion belonging to one of the brothers of the emperor of Servia. The history of the Montenegrinos is entirely unknown, though filled with many interesting traits; and we understand it is the intention of the Author of this

which, by itself or through its allies, commands the entrances of Servia, Upper Albania, and Macedonia, did not escape the Emperor Joseph. At the beginning of 1783, one of his agents signed an agreement with the chief of the Montenegrinos, by which the latter engaged to take up arms, at the first notification that might be given to them. At the same period the Austrian recruiters extended themselves as far as Joannina and Larissa, from whence they obtained more than a thousand men for the Imperial army.

It was thus that Joseph II. constrained in the enterprizes he might have undertaken in Valachia and Servia, and in these two provinces unable to do more than watch over the intrigues of Russia, sought to extend himself along the shores of the Adriatic, to obtain possession of the commerce of this sea, and to embrace Turkey on her western side. The possession of Dalmatia and the mouths of the Cattaro by the Venitians did, indeed, delay and diminish the result of his political intrigues, as well by depriving him of a great number of points of immediate contact which would have been of the greatest

Memoir shortly to publish a small volume of the annals of these people, written by their sovereign bishop, and containing geographical and historical notions, descriptive of the country and its inhabitants.—Tr.

service, as by favouring the under-hand dealings of the senate of Venice against his projects. Whatever was the state of weakness or decline into which the republic of Venice had fallen, this very circumstance alone was sufficient to make it consider the occupation of the western provinces of Greece by Austria as the immediate cause of the loss of Dalmatia and the Seven Islands, as well as the precursor of its own total fall. But the senate of Venice, inert, and obliged to employ its last resources in order to sustain on the continent an edifice ready to fall to pieces, was too much under the dependence of Austria, who, by her Italian possessions, enveloped the dominions of Venice, to be able to act in any other way than by secret measures. These means, which might, indeed, oppose some small obstacles to the advancement of the projects of the Emperor Joseph, and, for a certain time, delay their accomplishment, were far from being calculated to make a strong impression on the Greeks, and counterbalance the credit which the power of Joseph II. attached to his promises.

In 1783 and 1784, the correspondence of the Greek merchants of Trieste and Fiume extended even as far as into the Morea, and there assumed a character more directly connected with the views of Austria, being no longer con-

fined to general exhortations. The chiefs of each city, as well as the inhabitants known to possess the greatest influence over their fellow citizens, were formally sounded with regard to their sentiments, and excited to aid, in case of necessity, the enterprises of the Austrian government.

Greek officers in the service of the Emperor Joseph, accompanied by engineers, went over the coasts of Albania, the Morea, and the gulf of Lepanto. They made plans of the fortified places of Navarin, Modon, Patras, as well as of the castles situated in the straits. They, in like manner, examined the coast of Albania, the mouths of the Cattarro, and the gulf of Avlona. They sounded the gulf of Lepanto, and reconnoitered the isthmus of Corinth. In a word, nothing was omitted in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of all positions and means of defence. The republic of Ragusa also placed itself under the protection of the Emperor, who was not ignorant how much this small state might be useful to his views, by the number of its vessels and excellent sailors. Shortly, the Emperor had at Ragusa forty-four vessels, placed under the name of a merchant, and which, in a few days, could be armed and equipped as frigates.



The Albanians or Epirotes are not the only people who at that time could, and still may, hold an influence over the fate of western Greece, and particularly of the Morea. There is another nation, less numerous, but more interesting on account of their origin, as well as the fidelity with which they have preserved the manners and remembrance of their ancestors. These are the Mainotes; who, for two thousand years, have taken shelter among the rocks of Mount Taygetus, and equally defended their liberty against the Romans, the Greek Emperors, Venetians, and Turks. Still, up to the present day, they proudly assume the name of Spartans, or free Laconians, (ἐλευθεροὶ Λακωνοὶ) boasting never to have paid tribute to any power, and voluntarily submitting to chiefs whom they only acknowledge as long as they conceive them in a state of governing them well. Their name alone inspires the Turks with dread; and, single-handed and without foreign succour, they are enabled to conquer the Morea. They have not been discouraged by the inefficacy of their efforts during the last expedition of the Russians in 1770; they are more animated than ever against the Turks. Few years afterwards, that is, in 1783, they bound themselves by a solemn oath, pledging to avail themselves of the first

favourable opportunity to take possession of Mistra,\* which they always look upon as the capital of their republic. In 1782, two Albanian captains penetrated to Maino, and entered into negotiations, tending to unite the two people by a confederation. The principal conditions of this confederation were, a reciprocal obligation to enter the Morea as soon as one of the two should be attacked, and to adopt concerted measures in order to conquer this peninsula, as soon as the Turks should be engaged in a war with Russia or Austria; and that their forces should be united in Servia, or on the Black Sea. The Albanian deputies offered succours in warlike stores and money, and promised to transport field-pieces there by a sea-conveyance. This last proposition would prove, if any doubt could still be entertained, that the whole negotiation had been undertaken at the instigation and under the influence of the Emperor.

In a word, the Austrian government at that time neglected nothing in order to obtain the

\* Mistra, erroneously called Misitra, is a town of Morea built near the ruins of ancient Sparta, for which reason the Mainotes consider it as belonging to their republic. Formerly a Pacha held his establishment in Mistra, and governed half the Morea; but now a Bey only resides there, dependent on the Pacha of all Morea, who lives at Tripolitza.—Tr.

influence of the Greeks ; who, in fact, began to consider Joseph II. as their future liberator, and to feel towards him the same attachment they always had entertained for Russia. " Nothing more was wanting," says the author of the *Mémoire* above alluded to, " than the multiplied faults of the Russians, in order to destroy the stubbornness of that confidence the Greeks professed towards them ; in like manner, as nothing more was wanting to prevent the success of the last enterprize, than the total incapacity and bad conduct of the Russian officers ; who, in the whole expedition of the Archipelago, sacrificed the interests of their sovereign to their own cowardice and insatiable rapacity."

When Catherine II. conceived the idea of sending a squadron into the Mediterranean, she had previously prepared the minds of the people of Greece to an insurrection, by sending emissaries among them ; but she was deceived by her own agents ; who, in order to flatter and gain favour, made all the difficulties disappear, and gave assurances that nothing more was necessary than to appear on the shores of Greece, where, at the same instant, the whole of the Greeks would be seen in a state of insurrection, massacreing the Turks, and receiving their liberators with open arms. All the memoirs then

presented to the Russian government contained the same exaggerations, as will be proved by the analysis of the projects of invasion we shall shortly have occasion to make ; nor is it, indeed, remarkable or astonishing that a government, ambitious after the example of its sovereign, should have blindly believed what was announced by men expressly sent on the spot for the purpose of examining the state of things. It is not that the enthusiasm of the Greeks failed at that time to be carried to the highest pitch, or that they would have been unable to expel the Turks, if they had been furnished with the proper means ; but the Russians brought with them neither arms nor warlike stores. As soon as they had effected their landing, instead of scattering money in the country, and thus giving some earnest of the promises they had lavished, their officers thought of nothing else but pillaging those they were come to defend.

Such is the sketch of the united dangers which threatened the Ottoman empire a few years previous to the French revolution. It is evident, that all the materials of its fall were prepared ; that its enemies were sufficiently powerful to destroy it by main force, and that to their ostensible means they had, moreover, added secret springs, of which the inevitable effect was to secure and accelerate the result of an open attack. The

mutual jealousy of the two empires which then threatened Turkey, by preventing their union in one common effort, has sustained the latter power during a period of twenty years. Yet she owed her conservation to no other than the divergency of their interests, and the fear by which each was actuated of the too great aggrandisement of the other. The delay, however, of the last term of her political existence did not render her situation less precarious, nor less fraught with danger. Austria and Russia might, in short, have understood each other on the subject of a partition, or one of the two might have met with a favourable opportunity enabling him to unite all his means and pursue his object with force and rapidity. In that case, the union of the different elements of destruction we have above explained, would have produced so rapid and violent an effect, that a short time would have sufficed to behold the edifice of the Ottoman power falling to pieces. Thus might the dissolution of this empire have been considered as inevitable and extremely near, when the French revolution bursting forth called the attention of the great European powers towards the west, and allowed the Turks time to respire.

The fifteen first years of this revolution passed over, without the Ottoman empire appearing to

enter into consideration in the scale of the general affairs of Europe, otherwise than as an useful auxiliary in moments of necessity. The fall of the Venetian republic had, indeed, united Dalmatia to the disposal of Austria, and the Seven Islands to that of France; but the latter power was still too much agitated by its interior troubles, and too much busied in Germany and Italy to be enabled to form this new acquisition into the basis of a reasonable project with regard to Turkey. And even though France at that time had been in a state to direct her attention to the above quarter, the Republican government preserved, with regard to that country, the same views and ideas which had always been entertained during the time of the monarchy. The political existence of the Ottoman empire was considered useful and even necessary to the interests of France, and this new possession would only have served as a more efficacious means of defending and securing it. Austria did, indeed, behold the accomplishment of one of her favourite projects in the occupation of the ports of Zara and Cattaro, but the political situation of Europe occupied her too seriously in another quarter for her to be able to recur to the execution of the plans of Joseph II.; and, besides, the presence of French troops in the Ionian islands

placed obstacles in her way, much more difficult to surmount than those the republic of Venice had been able to oppose to her. The Austrian government, however, did not the less follow up its constant plans in the above country, and in endeavouring to gain the good-will of the principal inhabitants and attach them to its interests, it even succeeded; and, at a later period, that is, in 1809 and 1813, had an opportunity of seeing how many partisans it had there.

The expedition of Egypt, which broke down the harmony till then subsisting between France and Turkey, was rather directed against British commerce in the Indies than the Ottoman empire. This truth was perfectly well felt at the time, particularly by the British government, who believed it their duty to direct their whole attention towards Egypt, and considered this expedition of extreme importance. But the war which followed this infraction on the part of France, and occasioned her loss of the Seven Islands, presented to the Ottoman empire a chance which a government, enlightened with regard to its own true interests, would not have suffered to escape. This was herself to seize the Ionian Islands, and thereby raise, to the west of her dominions, an almost insurmountable barrier against the projects of one of her enemies. The weakness and slowness of the Turks

made them lose this favourable opportunity. The Russians, always on the alert to improve every chance of partaking in the navigation of the Mediterranean and form an establishment for themselves, readily hastened there; and all the Ottomans were able to obtain was the independence of the Seven Islands, and a share in the protection of their government. It is difficult to conceive why, from this very moment, Great Britain did not cast her eyes on so interesting a possession, and of such great moment to her, in consequence of the naval forces she was obliged to maintain in the Mediterranean. It would have been extremely easy for her to have united sufficient means to take possession of Corfu, and it is not probable, that either Turkey or Russia would have been disposed to contend with her the exclusive protection of this new state.

Whatever were her objections, this circumstance has, perhaps, been fortunate for Turkey. It is probable that the French government, alarmed at the vicinity of the British forces situated at so small a distance from Italy, even at the price of most important sacrifices, would have concerted the partition of the Ottoman empire, in order to seize on the coast of Albania and the Epirus, and thus wrest from the hands of England a possession of such vast importance.



This latter assertion is far from being a paradox; we shall, hereafter, see to what length the nature of the bonds existing between the government of the Ionian Islands and the neighbouring continent may influence the security and defence of Corfu, as well as of St. Maura.

The same happened to the Ionian Islands which twenty years before had occurred to the Crimea, that is, Russia alone obtained possession of their protection, and sent troops there. This circumstance might have proved extremely fatal to the Ottoman empire, if the political aspect of Europe had not been changed, and the continental troubles in the west had not obliged the cabinet of St. Petersburg to suspend the execution of its projects towards the East. The successive wars of 1800, 1805, and 1806, too seriously occupied Russia and Austria, for either of them to think of Turkey. In short, the peace of Presburg having united Dalmatia to the kingdom of Italy, and that of Tilsit attached the Ionian Islands to the domination of France, the Ottoman empire found itself between three powerful neighbours, one of which, nevertheless, presented himself as a friend and protector.

The position of Turkey then became extremely precarious, and perhaps more dangerous than it had ever before been. In the first

place, after the peace of Tilsit, France, her new neighbour, appeared to abandon her to the disposal of Russia; and Napoleon, whom the execution of his projects on Spain, and the war which broke out against Austria, kept engaged in another quarter, was under the necessity of offering to the Emperor of Russia the means of gratifying his ambition, by apparently giving up to him a conquest which had always been the object of the wishes of his predecessors. I say apparently, for it is not probable that Napoleon could have wished to leave Russia in peaceful possession of so important a conquest, although she had been able to effect it. Notwithstanding the war, or rather the skirmishes, which the Emperor Alexander sustained on the frontiers of Persia had prevented him from deriving all the advantages of his conquests in Georgia and Imeritia, in order to attack Turkey in Asia Minor, and, at the same time, on the Danube, he still possessed a sufficient force to overturn the Ottoman throne. The partisans he had in Moldavia and Valachia facilitated to him the approaches of the Danube, and the revolt of the Servians opened to him the heart of European Turkey, and served to secure to him the passage of the above river. All, in a word, appeared to presage the approaching entry of his armies into Constantinople. But the multiplied faults, as well

as the inexperience, of his generals made the war linger without any decided advantage; and Turkey thereby escaped from a destruction that otherwise appeared inevitable.

Whilst Russia was sustaining an ill-conducted and ruinous war against the Ottomans, Austria, after making peace with France, remained in appearance a quiet spectator of a struggle which could not be devoid of interest to her. However, exhausted by the sacrifices she had made in the war of 1809, she was under the necessity of recruiting her armies as well as her finances. Well persuaded, on the other hand, that it could not be the real intention of France to abandon the whole of European Turkey to the Russians, and that the Parisian cabinet, at least, reserved to itself an important part of such a conquest made at the expense of others, the Austrian monarch relied on obtaining some provinces, which his strength and situation would always enable him to demand whenever it should be time. An ulterior motive was, besides, joined to the preceding, and served to retain Austria in a state of forced inaction with regard to her ancient projects. Although the peace of Campo Formio had given to her Dalmatia and Cattaro, and consequently had thereby facilitated the connections she had previously cultivated in Albania and the Morea, the situation of the affairs

of Europe allowed them no longer to be followed up with so much activity ; and the negotiations, which, twenty years before, had been one of the objects of the solicitude to Joseph II., became of such secondary consideration, that they were only attended to in order that their chain might not be lost, and an opening left to resume them at the first favourable opportunity. These bonds consequently languished, and some of them were even broken. Since Dalmatia had ceased to belong to Austria, remoteness had rendered these communications still more rare, and interest of present danger obliging the Austrian government to unite all its means for its own preservation and defence, their object ceased to be interesting, as well as their utility, for the moment.

Thus it is that, since the year 1807, we no longer find any traces of those plots and machinations prepared with so much dexterity by the Austrian government at a more remote period. The Greeks, on their side, awaited in silence the consequences likely to result to them from the vicinity of France, and the influence this same vicinity would have on the bonds which had existed between the French government and the Porte, when these two empires were more remote from each other. This state of expect-

tancy in their minds also neutralized the effect of all the insinuations which might then have been conveyed on the part of Austria.

After the peace of Tilsit, and more especially after that of Altenburg, France found herself in immediate contact with Turkey, from the confines of Croatia to the mouths of the Cattaro, and from Chimera as far as the Morea. This contact seemed adapted to change the nature of the preceding relations of the two empires. It did not, in fact, appear possible that France could have preserved in her vicinity the same interest for the preservation of the Ottoman empire which she had when situated at a more remote distance. The successive aggrandizement of Napoleon's empire; the ever increasing pressure he exercised from west to east, and which even his fatal war in Spain had never suspended; all seemed to announce that a new change in the political system of Europe was about to produce the dismemberment of the Turkish empire. Nevertheless, the conduct of Napoleon towards the Porte was uniformly dubious; whether it was that he had not yet fixed his determination on that point, or that the time had not yet arrived for putting his plans into execution. On the one hand, he appeared to abandon that country to the discretion of

Russia ; and in not insisting on the performance of an article in the treaty of Tilsit, \* he seemed to consent to its depression or its destruction. On the other, he took care to ameliorate the land communications of Turkey with Dalmatia and Croatia, and to open others. He converted the custom-house of Kostainitza† into an entrepot of the first rank ; he re-established the fairs of Sinigaglia ; in a word, he appeared diligent to consolidate the commercial communications, in conformity to the frontiers at that time established, as well as in accord with the prosperity and integrity of the Ottoman empire. Nevertheless, he had not neglected any of the measures capable of giving him an exact knowledge of the country, of its resources, and means of defence. Numerous connections had been

\* By this article it was stipulated that the Russian troops should evacuate Moldavia and Valachia.—Tr.

† Kostainitza is a small village situated in an island of the river Uana, to the south of Sissek, and on the confines of Bosnia. It was formerly the entrepot of the land commerce between Turkey, Austria, and Germany, and a custom-house was established for the receipt of duties. The caravans from Constantinople, Salonica, Monastir, and Thessaly, came by the way of Scupi and Bosna-Serajo to this point, whence the commodities were conveyed to Fiume, Trieste, Laybach, and Vienna. Napoleon, in 1810, also made Kostainitza an entrepot for the commerce carried on between Upper Italy and Turkey, and this trade soon became extremely flourishing.—Tr.

formed in the provinces of Greece; the various consuls had received instructions, tending either to furnish the information wanted, or, in a secret manner, to work upon the public mind. Officers had been sent into the country under different pretexts, and all had brought back with them memoirs more or less important. The frequency of these missions had already begun to create inquietude in the suspicious character of the Turks. Ibrahim, Pacha of Scutari, on this subject observed to the Author, "Napoleon now sends one Frenchman after another; soon he will send ten, then one hundred, next a thousand, and afterwards a whole army."

Some persons have pretended, that without the rupture with Russia, which took place in 1812, the intention of the Emperor Napoleon was to carry his arms into Turkey. Others again assert, that this expedition was not to be carried into effect till after the campaign of Russia, and the re-establishment of Poland. The truth is, no act, no ostensible measure, authorizes the conclusion that a war with the Ottoman empire was among the number of projects which then occupied the mind of Napoleon. In 1810 he received a project of an invasion of Turkey, founded on the facilities he might derive from his extended frontiers, and the possession of the Seven Islands. He

simply caused the author to be told, that he was satisfied with his labours, without adding a word from which it might be inferred that he found them of immediate utility, or even that he intended to avail himself of them. The little success of the war carried on by the Russians prevented the necessity of his explaining himself with regard to Turkey; and the revolutions which have followed the war of 1812 have set aside the solution of a political problem, the importance of which has for the present ceased.

It results from what we have hitherto laid down, that the immediate danger under which Turkey was, with regard to Russia and Austria, towards the end of the last century, ceased at the period of the French revolution; but when the political system of Europe shall at length have been consolidated, and tranquillity re-established in the west, this same danger may again recur. However distant this period may be from us, it is not the less to be foreseen; and if the Ionian Islands had fallen into the hands of one of the two latter powers, this circumstance alone would have hastened its approach. Certainly it is most desirable, both for the good of humanity and the glory of polished Europe, that the Greeks should be freed from the debasing and tyrannical yoke under which they now groan. But if such a revolution, which of



themselves they are unable to undertake, were to be effected by the neighbouring powers, the result would be far from being so locally advantageous as at first might be imagined. In the first place, the Greeks, divided among their new masters, and united to the ancient provinces of their dominions, would lose all hopes of ever forming a consistent nation, and would see their name entirely effaced from the catalogue of the states of Europe; for it must not be believed that either of the two intends to abandon the Greeks to themselves, or to give them their independence, after expelling the Mahometans. With regard to the rest of Europe, such a revolution could not fail to be disadvantageous, by concentrating the commerce of Turkey, at present scattered among all the maritime states, in the hands of two powers, who, through their own interests, would convert it into a species of monopoly. Russia, by acquiring the exclusive possession of the ports of the Black Sea, and a free passage into the Mediterranean; Austria, by establishing herself in Albania and the Morea; would both become maritime powers, equally dangerous and injurious to the commerce of the other nations in these interior seas. The trade of the Levant would exclusively fall into their hands; and more especially Russia, by entering into direct communication with

Syria and Egypt, might easily produce a sensible deviation in the commerce of the East Indies.

It has always been the interest of France, and at present it is more particularly so of England, that the commerce of the Levant should not fall into other hands than those of subjects of the Ottoman empire; and the integrity of this empire is one of the inseparable conditions. In the actual state of things, the aggrandisements of Russia and Austria render a protecting power infinitely more necessary to the Ottoman Porte. France, enfeebled, can no longer serve as a counterpoise in her favour on the Continent, where her government has lost all its influence. There is no one then but England who, by the preponderance of her naval forces in the Mediterranean, can preserve and guarantee Turkey from harm; and the occupation of the Ionian Islands gives her a still stronger means of attaining this object. In the first place, their geographical situation, embracing the southern parts of Greece, and placing them in contact with all the provinces which, properly speaking, may be called Greek, gives to the power under whose protection these islands may remain, an influence in these same provinces sufficient to stop the effects of all the intrigues and plans which the other continental powers might attempt

there. Again, the permanent presence of the British forces on a point so nearly approached to the Ottoman empire, by rendering the bonds which already unite these two powers still stronger and more direct, gives a much greater degree of weight to the mediation of the first, and materially adds to the security of the second.

## CHAPTER II.

*Governmental System of the Venetian Senate.—*

*Effects of this System on the Ionian Islands.—*

*Situation of these Islands from 1800 to 1812.*

**U**NDER the government of the Venetians, the Ionian Islands, the only remains of their ancient dominions in the East, were treated as a conquered country, rather than as colonies; and the constitution itself of that republic added to the harshness and tyranny of a proconsular and foreign administration. As among the Romans, where the republic was only to be found in Rome, with the Venetians it, in reality, existed but on the lakes where the capital was situated. The nobles of Venice, the descendants of the first founders of the state, whose cradle was long hidden among the fens and streamlets of Bachiglione and the Brenta,\* were, in fact,

\* The river Bachiglione takes its source in the hills of the Seven Communes (*Sette Comuni*), to the N. E. of Vicenza, passes through this city, and loses itself near Padua, in the canals which convey its waters towards the lakes. The Brenta derives its source in the Tyrol, to the east of Trent, passes by Bassano, and loses itself near Padua, in the canal leading

the sole citizens ; all the rest were vassals. The nobles of the main-land, separated from those of Venice by an odious distinction, almost continually experienced the effects of the insulting superiority of the Venetians. Great sacrifices might, indeed, procure to the former the distinguished honour of seeing their names transcribed on the Golden Book ; but the illusive advantage of taking part in the sittings of the senate was more than compensated by the little credit they enjoyed, in consequence of their marked inferiority with regard to those whose families were, if we may so call it, born in the above book, as well as by the jealous care with which they were kept from the high offices and distinctions. It was only in the provinces of the continent that their title of *Primi inter pares*, which assimilated them to the proconsuls sent by the senate, and placed them in an intermediate rank between these despotic representatives and their vassal fellow-citizens, gave them a credit which they did not fail to abuse. In the provinces, they rendered back the humiliations they had experienced at Venice, and

from the latter city to Fusine. Formerly these two rivers fell into the lakes. The port of the Brenta was then Fusine (*Medoacus Major*) ; and the port of the Bachiglione was a little to the N. of Chioggia, and called *Medoacus Minor*.—Tn.

their power and riches made them into so many domestic tyrants.

The Dalmatian nobles called Slavonians, as well as the Greek nobles, were still ranked beneath those of the main-land, and the first were, more especially treated with an arrogance and disdain which can scarcely be imagined. If the most serene senate and the most illustrious Barnabotti \* had dared, they would have turned them into so many Ilots, since, in their own minds, they did not believe them much superior to these unhappy vassals of the austere Spartans. With regard to the rest, they were infinitely more jealous than disdainful. The vivacity and natural perspicacity of the Greeks, the superiority of their native talents, and their marked aptitude for the arts and sciences, appeared dangerous to a jealous government, more formed for small intrigues than great administrative concerns, and, at the same time, incapable of conceiving and prosecuting a philanthropic plan.

\* This was the term applied to the poor nobility, who, being inscribed on the golden book, were entitled to a seat in the grand council of the *Prigadi*, and formed part of the most serene government. The republic paid to the poor Barnabotti an alimentary pension of two Venetian livres per day, equal to 10d. sterling. This was the most corrupted and venal class of the Venetian nobles.—TR.

The decline of the Venetian republic, which had commenced at the time when the discoveries of the Portuguese opened a new road to the commerce of the Indies, and was completed by the league of Cambray, had forced this government into a continental system of policy materially affected by its increasing weakness and its want of influence in the political scale of Europe. Incapable of supporting itself by its own personal importance, it sought its conservation in the pliancy of its intrigues. Frequently injured and perplexed in the wars excited in Italy, through the pretensions and political views of France, Austria, and Spain; compelled to find in its own address the means of escaping from the ambitious designs of the house of Austria, particularly when the latter, by the acquisition of Lombardy, had inclosed the state of Venice in its own dominions; the senate of Venice employed all its efforts to perfect the Machiavelian and inquisitorial system of government, which already existed in this republic. Whether it was that this administrative system was the offspring of the stormy circumstances in which Venice had on several occasions been placed, or was the result of the character and natural inclinations of the Venetians, certain it is, that it is to be found

from the very first page of their history, which presents several celebrated examples.

The state of Venice was an aggregation of provinces conquered in the prosperous days of the republic, and held in a continued vassalage with regard to the capital, without ever having formed a whole, united by the equality of rights or by a voluntary confederation. The rivalry, and even the hatred, which existed between the various provinces, remains of the ancient civil wars of Italy, and which in the times of prosperity the senate had cherished and kept alive, in order to prevent the danger of a league between its vassals, who might thereby have become its masters—this rivalry, I say, which could no longer be extinguished when Venice had lost her maritime grandeur, still contributed to render this republic, when changed into a continental state, an aggregation almost heterogeneous, which the government only kept united by its policy.

Perhaps, at this period, a firm and patriotic government, by making some sacrifices, might have been able to give a new form to the state, and, by connecting with the capital the provinces retained after the league of Cambray, to have created, even to the north of Italy, a state sufficiently powerful to command respect, and capable of being fearlessly placed in the



political balance between France and Austria: But the Venetians, till then, had only been exclusively commercial and maritime; the education of the young nobles, the form and institutions of their government bore towards these two objects; every thing was fashioned after and habituated to the finesses and intrigues they had employed in their mercantile speculations. A total revolution in their constitution would have been necessary to bring them back to a government such as was conformable to the interests of a power now become continental. Wise and enlightened men were wanting, we will add more, true patriots could no longer be found, to propose and conduct such a revolution with success; and when the senate was obliged to concentrate the whole of its attention on the continent, it brought into its administrative system no other than narrow and interested views, which led it on to deceptions and tyranny, resorted to in order to sustain itself.

One of the principal means employed by the senate of Venice, for the purpose of securing its interior power, was the organization and even the overstraining of that aristocracy which constituted the basis of its government. The more the nobles of the provinces were powerful and considered, those of Venice, elevated to a

still higher degree, proportionably obtained greater influence and credit over the mass of the people. This increase of power in the public opinion was necessary to the exercise of the dictatorial authority with which the mandatories, elected among these same nobles, were invested. The impenetrable veil which, to the eyes of the people, covered the operations and designs of the senate and supreme council, assumed a new aspect of terror. An invisible and inexorable power weighed heavy on the head of each citizen; all the faculties were concentrated into those of obedience, and this servile obedience carried its expression even into the relations of society, and gave to the Venetians the habitude of an exaggerated politeness; whilst every thing was interlarded with the title of *Excellency*, now become trivial, because it had been lavished without distinction. Instead of patriotism and that spirit of national unity which had never existed, and which the senate never even sought to elicit, an absolute despotism and blind servitude, on the part of the people, served to prevent all possibility of partial revolts, rendered so extremely dangerous through the activity with which Austria would have availed herself of them, in order to dismember the republic under the pretext of mediation.

The senate of Venice, nevertheless, did not content itself with the powerful engine which the aristocratic league formed by the government presented to it, in order to contain the citizens and the people. To this it endeavoured to add another, which, at the same time, served to prevent the nobility of the provinces from abusing the credit and preponderance given to them by the constitution. This was, the most entire and extended application of the principles developed by Machiavel, and of the adage so frequently repeated, *divide ut imperes*. Not only the animosities produced by the ancient rivalry of the towns and provinces of the Venetian continent were cherished and kept alive, nay, often envenomed, but the policy also of the senate, and of the proconsuls, distributed under the title of Proveditors, stirred up, in each province private hatreds among families, as well patricians as plebeians. The right of sanctuary was re-established and encouraged; and the privileges of the nobility converting their castles into asylums, which the terror this order inspired rendered inviolable, made each province shortly present no other than the image of civil anarchy, organized by a government allowing every thing, with the exception of what regarded its own existence and administration. The nobility divided themselves into

parties, of which each one had its hired assassins ; the people formed themselves into groups of dependents, under patrons sufficiently powerful to protect private acts of vengeance, or the lives of those who stood in dread of penal retribution. Blood flowed with impunity, either by the orders or with the permission of the nobles. The senate, who judged it necessary to its own interests to maintain the nobility in dissipation, and to allow them to use their strength in private quarrels which time rendered implacable, was not ashamed to favour the effusion of blood, since, by a system of barbarous legislation, the assassin was sure to escape from death, and often from prison, if he was only patronized and abetted by some powerful man.

The Author, in examining the registers of the prisons of Palma Nova, in the year 1797, found one person entered on the books as condemned to ten years' confinement, for having killed ten men, and his neighbour to twenty years, for having spoken ill of the *Potestat* (the mayor).

Such a system as this could not fail to increase still more the corruption and venality of the Venetian nobles, and spread these two scourges throughout all the branches of provincial administration. The Proveditors, generally chosen from among the Venetian nobles

most necessitated, whom their intrigues and those of a numerous family raised to this office, scarcely ever solicited the nomination, unless for the purpose of accumulating riches, and they conducted themselves in a manner to attain their object. They, in fact, held in their own hands the means of corrupting men, whose probity could not have been founded on solid and unchangeable principles. In serving the views of the senate they acquired the right of selling justice to all, of trafficking places to the ambitious, of bartering the protection of the most serene Prince to the weak possessed of money, and even of fixing a price on the blood of their protégés; whom they even sold to their enemies richer than themselves. Cupidity impelled them to stir up law-suits, in order to increase their revenue and feed intestine dissensions, and to provide them with more means of selling out their mediation and protection. There was only one class which had never access to them; this was that of the citizens and people. It was contrary to the designs of the government to acknowledge any rights to the latter, or to afford them any means of protection; and, excepting a small number of merchants who frequently ended by purchasing a diploma of nobility, this class was too poor to enter into the scale of the Proveditors.

Such was the system of government put into practice by the senate of Venice, the effects of which went on increasing till the moment of its fall, thereby rendered so easy. It was the same the Venetians had also established and followed up in the Seven Islands, under some modifications rendering it still more oppressive to the country. The representatives of the Venetian republic in the Ionian Islands were, if possible, still more debased and corrupted than those of the continent, whence their administration became more injurious to the people, and also more dilapidating. All kinds of dissensions were there carefully kept alive and increased; and an active and continued civil war desolated the country, whilst a moral conflict disunited the inhabitants of the towns. Always constant in the system of jealousy and distrust which the character of the Greeks inspired, or rather through the effects of adopted principles, purporting that public education ought to confirm all the subjects of the republic in the sentiment of dependence to the mother-city, the senate did not allow the establishment of any national school in the Ionian Islands. The same precautions had been taken with regard to the Dalmatians; and the effects of such a plan had been to stop the progress of knowledge both among one and the other, and to keep

them, more particularly the latter, in a state of profound ignorance. Consequently it was only to Venice or Padua that the Greeks were allowed to come and receive instruction in literature and the sciences. These two schools would, undoubtedly, have sufficed for the education of the young Septinsulars and tended to the advantage of their native country, whether they would have brought back the mental lights they had acquired, if there had only been something national in their studies. But they merely learnt how to become Venetian subjects, and their ideas, always verging towards this only centre, rendered them foreign to Greece, where by birth they belonged. Nevertheless, in order to prevent its ultra-marine subjects from too much improving by a plan of instruction, already subjected to all the influence of the inquisitorial regimen, the senate had taken the greatest care to furnish them with the means of enjoying the fruits of their studies; without having had the trouble to follow them up. An act of the most perfidious Machiavelism, decorated with the pompous title of privilege, allowed them the faculty of purchasing the diploma of doctor of arts on the simple attestation of the completion of private studies, and after an examination, the more or less severity of which depended on the fortune of the candi-

date for the doctorship. For the purpose of completely extinguishing every idea of nationality, the government had gone so far as to exclude the Greek language from all public acts, and had succeeded in banishing it from good society. The force of example, and the corruption produced by slavery were such, that in the Ionian Islands a Greek only spoke his own language to the country-people or his servants, and would have blushed to converse in it with one of his countrymen well-educated, or who pretended to be so.

The fall of the Venetian republic carried the French troops into the Seven Islands. They brought with them all the principles of the revolution, which at that time were entirely democratical. This absolute democracy, succeeding all at once and without any intermedacy to the aristocratical despotism of the Venetians, produced an unpleasant effect, and was even received with disfavour. This could not be otherwise. The first effect of the presence of a military force infinitely superior to that the Venetians had maintained there, was an unusual charge imposed on the inhabitants. The difference of language, entirely new to the Greek Ionians; that of the manners and character of the republican French soldiers proud of their victories and liberty, compared with the miserable exist-



ance and debased slavery of the wretched troops of St. Marc, produced a sensation at first by no means advantageous to the French legions. The representatives of the French government found themselves in contact with the officers of the republic of Venice as well as with the nobles of the islands; and both the one and the other could not fail to behold with displeasure an administration established on principles so contrary to their personal interests. The partisans of the lion of St. Marc sought to make head against the French, and the people beheld with distrust and almost with regret a change of which they did not know the result. Some errors into which the French representatives were drawn, through their ignorance of the true situation and character of the inhabitants of a country with which France had never been in direct relation, and which made them place their confidence in bad hands, perhaps even a little too much despotism on their part, in the first moments, alienated the inhabitants of the Seven Islands from them.

This disfavour did not, however, last long; and the first public acts promulgated in the name of the French government awakened in the hearts of the Greeks a sentiment which Venetian Machiavelism had indeed laid dormant, but had been unable to extinguish. The

name of country was to them no longer that of a distant and foreign region; it recalled to them their native land, the soil wherein the bones of their ancestors reposed; that country, in short, which, for so many centuries, had been linked to the destinies of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Thebes; which had given birth to Ulysses, and seen the Pheacides flourish, as well as many other worthies proud of the Greek name. The national language re-assumed its place in the public acts, and again appeared in society. The Greek religion became the prevailing one, and that of their new protectors was only tolerated. The democratical forms placed the administration in national hands; and the people, being in immediate contact with the magistrates, who spoke their own language, no longer experienced the want of interpreters in their own country.

Under French administration the Seven Islands began to breathe; and, freed from the extortions of the Venetian pro-consuls, the weight of a military government, which the state of war rendered still necessary, though it did not, in their eyes, counterbalance the real advantage of a liberal government, paved the way to the return of tranquillity and the re-union of the public mind, so long banished from among them. A police, administered with exactitude

and military severity, caused the civil war in the country to cease, and the destruction of a government which, through political system and the corruption of its agents, sustained interior disorder, put an end to the causes so long opposed to the re-establishment of harmony among the citizens. The only rivalry which still existed was that of the different islands with each other; and this rivalry, which the community of government would, undoubtedly, in time have deadened, could not disappear unless by the effect of a spirit of general union and patriotism, which could not be expected but from the progress of public instruction, particularly of a national kind.

During the time the Ionian Islands were in the hands of the French government, the schools of Italy and France were open to the young Greeks. The spirit of liberty and of independence they brought back with them found ample nourishment. Public instruction, ameliorated in these same schools by the progress of the spirit of the age, notwithstanding the exaggerations inseparable from a moral revolution so complete, communicated to them useful knowledge. Their natural avidity for learning, and the perspicacity with which nature has gifted them, caused them to make a rapid progress; and in returning home they found themselves

capable of serving their country with utility. All these united causes contributed to give to the Septinsulars a tendency towards civil and political liberty, which nothing can now extinguish, since it has braved and out-lived all the efforts of the Venetians. This tendency only requires to be wisely directed in order to produce and consolidate the prosperity of this infant state. Its weakness and the vicinity of two enemies to its independence, place it under the indispensable necessity of receiving the guardianship of a powerful and disinterested protector; and its present interior happiness, as well as its tranquillity and future prosperity, do not the less require the watchful care of an enlightened preceptor, in order that they may brighten and be secure. This double task has now devolved on Great Britain. Let us hope that, in confiding the direction of the Ionian government to wise hands, and in applying to this country the principles of civil liberty and liberal institutions, so well known and practised in England, this task will soon be fulfilled, both to the advantage of humanity and to the benefit of grateful Ionia.

The war which broke out in 1798 between France and Turkey soon afterwards brought about the expulsion of the French troops from the Ionian Islands. This catastrophe, beyond

all doubt, was singularly facilitated by the predicament in which the French Governor-general was then placed. One of his misfortunes was his rupture with Ali Pacha, who, by remaining friendly, would have been able to protect in an efficacious manner the defence of Corfu and St. Maura. By the above event the Ionian republic, whose independence had been acknowledged by a solemn treaty in 1800, was placed under the common protection of Russia and Turkey. This joint protection, so contrary to the projects and interests of Russia, could not last long. Hence were discussions soon seen to arise; and the Russian government, in conformity to its ancient tactics, continued to sow discords, for the purpose of afterwards profiting by them. The Turkish government, for reasons we shall hereafter explain, undertook to favour the nobility. This inconsiderate patronage tended to light up the extinguished factions, and again divided the popular mind. The agents of Russia increased the disorder, by multiplying the inquietudes of the people, and alarming the democratical party. The parties were soon in presence of each other, and in more than one place formed contentions, and even came to blows. The rivalry of the islands among themselves became a real and active struggle, on the score of precedency and sovereignty. Public

tranquillity was every where destroyed, and anarchy rapidly gained ground. The magistrates, isolated amidst these disorders, fomented by the want of address on the part of one protector, and through the policy of the other, found themselves devoid of all authority, and unable to make them cease. In this extremity, the only means left of restoring order, and reorganizing the state, on the eve of dissolution, was, in default of a powerful mediator, to choose between the two protectors, and to be satisfied with one only. Even though the intrigues of Russia had not influenced the choice, this could not have been dubious between Musselmans and Christians of the same rites. The magistrates consequently implored the aid of the Emperor Alexander. Russian troops were sent to the Seven Islands, and the exclusive protection of this republic was transferred to Russia, who sent thither a minister plenipotentiary.

Soon afterwards the Ionian Islands received a constitutional charter; for even at that time constitutions were in vogue, particularly those which could be given to others. This constitution, proposed, discussed, and approved at Petersburg, on the one side partook of party-spirit, inflamed by the disorders which had scarcely ceased in the islands; and on the other, of the

nature of such ideas as it was possible to find in Russia of a liberal government. The project presented, and the demands made by the Ionian deputies, form a precious monument of the rapid progress public opinion had made in their country, and of the aptitude of the Ionian magistrates. The whole evidently proves that if they had only been directed in a career in which they wanted nothing but the lessons of experience, and not imperiously led on towards an object traced by foreign hands, their country had every thing to expect from their zeal and capacity. But their constitution had only been discussed and examined in the office of the Russian minister for foreign affairs, in conformity to points of vague information, frequently furnished by party-spirit, and without any real knowledge of the political situation, national character, or wants of the people for whom it was intended. The author himself had an opportunity of seeing a large portion of the papers relating to the above work, in which one of his own friends was engaged, who, nevertheless, was not possessed of any correct notions on the Ionian Islands; for which reason he has not hesitated to advance what has just been penned.

This constitution was, however, promulgated, executed, and the government installed. The

effect of any government whatever, when the administration is well conducted and the laws put in force, is always more or less to restore order, even when a great number of individual interests are thereby affected. It is only when it is absolutely contrary to the wishes and welfare of the mass of the nation, and in direct opposition to that moral and irresistible force which constitutes the public opinion, that apprehensions may be entertained of troubles, and the near approaches of a revolution be foreseen. The latter case was not that of the new Ionian government, whence order was, to a certain point, re-established, and public tranquillity restored. This, indeed, would have been completely effected if the Russian minister plenipotentiary had been more prudent, and the civil and military administration had been less dilapidated. When the Author first arrived at Corfu, without, however, being employed there, France had scarcely taken possession of the Seven Islands, and the Russian minister was still on the spot. At this period the public voice accused him of having made his own private fortune the principal object of his administration, and of having nearly practised all the obliquity of conduct so remarkable in the Venetian Proveditors. With regard to the military administration, the government was burdened



laid the foundation of a solid edifice, suitable to the character and interests of the inhabitants. But the successive loss of Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maura, and of the other islands, soon reduced the Ionian republic to the sole island of Corfu; and all his other cares had to yield to that of the preservation of this rampart of the Adriatic, which he defended till 1814, and only gave it up at the restoration of peace.

## CHAPTER III.

*Relations of the Ionian Islands with the neighbouring Continent when under the Venetians.*

*—Obstacles opposed thereto by Ali Pacha.—*

*Policy of the Venetians towards him.—Advantages they derived from the Towns of the Greek Continent.—Influence of these Towns on the Defence of the Ionian Islands.—Faults committed by Russia in ceding four of these Towns to Turkey.*

**A**S long as the Ionian Islands were under the power of the Venetians, their commercial relations with the neighbouring continent were extremely shackled, and by that republic subjected to a monopoly which rendered their effect nearly null to the rest of Europe, and even so to Italy. Two motives contributed to fetter these relations. The first and most powerful of these was the trade which the Venetians themselves carried on in the Levant, of which they sought to retain exclusive possession. Their vessels were in the habits of going to Salonica in search of goods which, otherwise, would have come direct -

from the fairs of Magarovo, \* Mavronoro, and Bonila, to Arta and Corfu. This commerce, more easy and more abundant, would have enriched the Seven Islands too much, and this was what their jealousy of the Greeks, and the state of absolute dependency in which they sought to keep them, would not suffer the Venetians to allow. The entrepot of Arta, alone, had a direct communication with Corfu; and even this, through the possession of Prevesa and Vonitza, was entirely under the dependence of Venetian monopoly. The second motive was, the situation in which the Venetians stood towards the continent near to the Ionian Islands, and which rendered all the coast of Albania extremely dangerous for the caravans coming from the interior to Keracha, Bucintró, and Gomenitza. †

\* Magarovo is a small town to the N. W. of Monastir, where the fairs are held improperly called those of Monastir. The principal article of traffic is cotton. Mavronero is a small town near Grevno, where the fairs of entrepot are held. The merchandize of Thessaly and Macedonia are brought here, and the merchants of the four neighbouring provinces come to make their purchases there. This is the most active entrepot of all Greece. Bonila is a village situated a league from Joannina, where Ali Pacha built a hall for fairs to be held in; but the establishment languishes through his own fault, as well as owing to the vexations the trade of the gulf of Arcta experiences.—Tr.

† These three places are situated on the Greek continent.

The fairs of Sinigaglia, so much frequented by the Greeks, were seldom visited by the Albanians and Epirotians. Even the merchants of Corfu only went there as the partners or agents of the Venetians. It was to Venice that both one and the other resorted, to purchase the refuse of European goods, which the Venetians sold to them at a high price; and the Septinsulars had not even been allowed to avail themselves of the commerce of Albania, and carry it on for their own account, in ports foreign to the Venetian states. The relations of the Ionian Islands with the Greek continent had therefore no advantageous consequences in favour of the said islands; the few benefits it produced were all reserved for the commerce of Venice, and the direct communications did not go beyond social relations, which the conformity of language, of religion, and origin maintained between the Ionians and Epirotians, the Acarnanians and Moreans.

In conformity to the political system which the senate of Venice had adopted with regard to Turkey, and the jealousy with which it viewed the establishments of Ottoman subjects on the

near to each other, and almost opposite to Corfu. They are geographically described in the body of the work. Bucuitró is the proper name of the place described by our geographers under that of Bucintró.—Ta.

Adriatic, which it considered as its own exclusive patrimony, it had taken all possible precautions to fetter and obstruct them. Being no longer able to retake from the Ottoman empire the ports of Dulcigno, Alessio, Durazzo, and Avlona, the three first of which they lost with the inheritance of Scanderbeg, though possessed by them some years, the Venetians had endeavoured, at least, to prevent the Turks from establishing themselves there, from Cape Lenguella, as far as the Dardenelles of Lepanto. They had succeeded in their projects, and the barbarity of the Northern Albanians, as well as the difficulty of the communications of Dulcigno, Alessio, Durazzo, and Avlona with the interior of Turkey, having prevented the Ottomans from turning these places into entrepôts of commerce, they had not been able to enter into competition with the Venetians on the Adriatic.

The establishment and increase of the power of Ali Pacha had become a subject of new and real inquietude to the Venetians. The extraordinary fortune, genius, and ambitious character of this new neighbour appeared to them extremely dangerous to the security and tranquillity of the Seven Islands. Indeed Ali Pacha scarcely took the trouble to disguise the projects he had formed on the Venetian towns of

the continent, and even on Corfu and St. Maura, to the conquest of which the possession of the above towns was to lead the way. The Venetians still remembered the famous Veli Bey, his grandfather, who died like a hero under the ramparts of Corfu, and whose death, perhaps, had saved the place. They did not at the same time doubt that it would accord both with the glory and interests of Ali to re-conquer the grave of his grandfather, which was preserved as a kind of trophy. Since Ali had obtained the Pachalic of Joannina, all his efforts, all his political intrigues, had constantly tended to dispossess Mustapha, Pacha of Delvino, his rival, in consequence of the situation of his government, as well as to subject the independent or insurgent tribes occupying the coast.

The first means the Venetians resorted to for the purpose of counteracting his views was intrigue. The more he laboured through the weight of policy and negociations to reduce tribes whom it was impossible for him to subject by force, the more did the Venetians oppose to him countervailing measures, and applied themselves to destroy the effects his promises or threats might have produced. They excited all kinds of parties against him; granted nearly open protection to his enemies, and even an asylum when they were unfortunate. They paid for the provisions of Corfu in arms and warlike

stores, which they handed over to the Philates, or Tziamides, Paramithians, and Souliots. They excited and favoured the excursions of the Acarnanians; and each time that Ali Pacha carried his forces to one point of his government, in order to pacify insurrections, or subject insurgents, the Venetian agents did not fail to make the countries situated in an opposite direction rise up, and thereby divide his means and attention. They kept up active correspondence with the Pachas of Berat, of Delvino, and Avlona, and neglected nothing that could prevent them from making a sincere peace with their old enemy.

As a sanction to their conduct, and to remove all suspicions from the divan, they represented to the Porte, as a pretext, that they were acting in conformity to the interests of the Ottoman empire itself, whose government could not with a favourable eye behold the rapid increase of the power of Ali Pacha. Hence did they stipulate with the Ottoman Porte that Ali Pacha should not be allowed to raise a fort on the continent, unless at the distance of a mile from the coast. They rigorously abided by this condition; nor was Ali at any time able to fortify even the maritime custom-house of Salagora, although placed in the interior of the gulf of Arta. For the same reason they never permitted any Turkish vessel to come out of the gulf of Arta, and much less to appear in the channel of Corfu, or in that of

St. Maura, Ithacus, or Cephalonia. From a want of means to carry them on, the Turks were obliged to leave all the fisheries of the coast in their hands, or were under the necessity of farming them out at a very low price to the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, to whom, through an extraordinary instance of generosity, the senate of Venice gave up the privilege of this extremely lucrative branch of industry, which, besides, required no advance of funds; for the sole fishery of Porto Palermo, which on an average annually produced near one hundred thousand dollars, was farmed out for the trifling sum of nine hundred.

If the Albanians and the other people of the coast contiguous to Corfu and St. Maura had been impelled by a decided inclination for a seafaring life, it is probable that all the precautions of the Venetians would not have been able to prevent their navigation, or their sharing in the commerce of the Adriatic. A determined resolution on this subject would have compelled the Venetians to more condescension, or would have brought about an open rupture, and a state of hostilities, which they had as much interest in avoiding on the part of the inhabitants of the coast, as they had to keep the latter in a state of warfare with Ali. But all these people are, in general, warriors, shepherds, or agriculturists,



and navigation and maritime commerce have no attractions for them. Satisfied with the merchandize the Venetians brought for them to Bucintró or Prevesa, and the latter not suffering them to want arms and ammunition, which they ardently sought and stood in need of, they never turned their attention to maritime affairs, or even to the occupations of fishing. This entirely continental character of the people, capable of entering into more direct and immediate relation with the Ionian Islands, greatly favoured the policy and views of the senate of Venice, and opposed many obstacles to the wishes of Ali Pacha, who was anxious to form a navy, and carry on the trade of his states through his own means. When, at a later period, the possession of the towns and ports of the coast allowed him to attempt the execution of his project, he was obliged, in order to obtain some armed vessels, to avail himself of the Dulcignots, the Moreans, and Hydriots. \* With foreign officers and sailors it is indeed possible to possess a certain number of vessels navigating the seas; but a state can only truly boast the possession of a navy when the national character is congenial to it, and its resources in men exist within the nation itself.

\* The island of Hydra is situated near the southern point of Argolide. Its inhabitants are pirates much dreaded in the Archipelago.—Ta.

This practical truth did not escape Ali Pacha, since it was its strong conviction that made him so ardently desire the possession of Corfu and St. Maura, and likewise caused him to employ all his intrigues to obtain the Morea in the person of his son Veli.

The five towns possessed by the Venetians on the Greek continent were extremely useful in favouring their political conduct, and rendering themselves masters of the commerce of the coast. These towns were as follow: 1st, Bucintró, anciently called *Buthrotum*, and still by the Greeks Buthrinto. It is situated to the N. E. almost opposite to Corfu, near a marsh, which renders it extremely unhealthy; but it was not thereby rendered less important to the Venetians, in consequence of the facility of its communications with Chimara, the valley of Argi-ro-Kastro, and Delvino. They took great care to keep up the fortifications of this place, and had garrisons always on foot there. A small cutter anchored in the harbour was sufficient to guard the entrance of the channel, extremely narrow between Cape Caragol and Point Bucintró. 2d, Gomenitza, which has taken the place of the ancient *Glikis-limen*. It was an open town, which served as a market to the Philates and Paramithians, whence the island of Corfu, in great measure, derived its supplies of grain and

castle. 3d, Parga, formerly *Gephyra*. This town, defended by a good castle, and situated in a valley surrounded by almost inaccessible rocks, without being so useful to the provisioning of Corfu as the preceding, was nevertheless of infinite importance, owing to the connections its inhabitants then did and still continue to keep up with the Paramithians, the Souliots, and the other independent clans of the Cassiopian mountains. This was one of the principal seats of the insurrectional movements which agitated the Epirus, and a secure asylum for the enemies of Ali Pacha. 4th, Prevesa, a town built on the ruins of the ancient *Actia Nicopolis*. This place, extremely flourishing under the government of the Venetians, where they had a provveditor, and maintained a garrison in the fort, served for the purpose of closing to the Turks all outlet from the gulf of Arta. Besides the channel leading into the gulf being so narrow that it can be defended by cannon of the smallest size, it is in general shallow, and the deepest water runs immediately opposite to Prevesa; so that all vessels, with the exception of fishing-boats, are obliged to pass under the fort and a low battery standing at the entrance of the town. As long as this place was in the hands of the Venetians, it was to Ali Pacha one of the most serious obstacles, as well as an object of regret and vio-

lent hatred. Hence his first care in 1799 was to get possession of it, and his vengeance nearly reduced the place to ruins. 5th, Vonitza, anciently called *Lionnea*. This small town, built on the southern side of the gulf of Arta, stands at the foot of the mountains of Acarnania, and was the least important of all the Venetian possessions. Its relations were confined to Acarnania, a savage country, insecure, and covered with forests. Hence was it considered in no other light than as a post intended to guard the gulf, and an anchoring-place for the Venetian vessels desirous of passing into the inner parts of it.

The five ports we have just pointed out, or rather the first four, were the only ones useful to commerce to be met with from Chimara as far as the entrance of the gulf of Lepanto. Those of Porto Palermo and Agioi-Saranda, situated to the N. of the Corfu channel, having no communication with the interior of the country, are merely anchoring-places. That of Keracha, where the direct road from Joannina to Corfu passes, and which stands opposite to the latter place, is no other than a strand, on the margin of which is the *han* (inn) that bears this name. The small town of Konispoli, on which the latter *han* depends, is more than a league further on, being situated on the declivity of

the mountains, but its inhabitants carry on no kind of trade. The road of Phanari, at a small distance from Parga, is large and safe, yet in the vicinity round there is not a single village. The church of St. Giovanni di Phanari, the remains of the ancient town of *Critanæ*, now also in ruins, is the only building to be seen there. Under the Venetians this road was, nevertheless, much frequented. It was through this channel they communicated with the *Stuliots*, whose country is situated near the sources of the river, which discharges itself into the road; and it was here the Venetians brought the merchandize, arms, and ammunition these people stood in need of. To the south of the gulf of Arta, the ports of Sinode, Solion, Phigo, Dragomestro, and Petala, having no continental communications but with Acarnania, can only be considered as harbours of convenience for the interior navigation of the islands.

This short detail is sufficient to prove to the reader of what importance for the Venetian government were the towns it had been able to retain on the continent. Occupying the only outlets the commerce of the interior country could have to enter into communication with the Adriatic and Italy, this trade was entirely left at the disposal of the Venetians. The command of all these entrances also prevented the

Turkish navy from appearing in this quarter, where they were unable to form a station, or even to remain, having no harbour that afforded them the necessary resources. It is to this cause, in a word, that the Venetians owe the profound security the islands enjoyed whilst under their dominion, and the absence of all competitors in these seas.

It is not merely in respect to the destruction of Turkish trade in the Adriatic and Ionian sea, and the obstacles which Venetian policy sought to oppose to the aggrandisement of the power of Ali Pacha, that the possession of these towns was useful to the Ionian Islands. It moreover contributed to the security and particular defence of Corfu and St. Maura. This is the point we shall next explain, in the fewest possible words. The Seven Islands in general, and particularly the two just named, do not, by a large deficiency, furnish sufficient grain and cattle for the consumption of the inhabitants. The distance they were from Venice rendered the conveyance thereof difficult and expensive, particularly for the latter article. To draw provisions from the nearest part of the Italian coast was to run the risk of wanting, as well because this was a dependence on a foreign government, as that it was also attended with great difficulties in case of a maritime war. It was, therefore,

more prudent to rely on supplies from the contiguous coast, particularly if they could be secured in such a manner as not to be cut off by a war with Turkey. This is precisely the point that was secured by the occupation of the five towns on the main land, more especially Gomenitza and Parga. The almost unceasing rebellion of the neighbouring clans, whom the Venetians, through their agents, excited whenever they wished, placed them in a continual necessity of arms and ammunition, for which they furnished all the provisions required.

The channel of Corfu, surrounded by high mountains, is not only less subject to the agitation of storms than the sea ranging to the W. and N. of the island, but it is also frequently exposed to absolute calms, which prevent naval forces employed in blockades from making any movement, as long as they cannot occupy the road of Guvine, in the island itself. A few gun-boats and flat-bottomed vessels would suffice to keep open and secure all communications between Corfu and the continent. It is then that Buejatró on the one hand, and Gomenitza and Parga on the other, would be able, without danger, to furnish the island with abundant supplies. The situation itself of these places, surrounded by a population devoted to the Vene-

tions, and which will always be so to the powers occupying the Seven Islands, if wished, prevented them from being besieged, as it would have been requisite to employ a large force to command the whole of the country round. The latter means, besides, was not easy in a mountainous and intersected country, whose inhabitants understand the mode of carrying on *Guerilla* warfare better than any nation in Europe. Such an enterprize as this could not have been attempted by the Turks, and much less so by Ali Pacha, who has never been able to subject the bordering clans. Thus the Venetians, in seeking to keep the Philots and their allies in a state of distrust and almost continued warfare with the Pacha of Joannina, had been able to complete the defence of Corfu by their arrangements on the side of the Greek continent.

The channel of St. Maura has an inconvenience still greater than that of Corfu. Near the strand of Playa it is fordable in almost all its width, which does not exceed 300 toises. There are even no more than seven or eight feet of water in the middle channel, and this is only about fifty toises wide. The vessels seeking to pass from the N. to the S. of the island are obliged to go round by the W. and cannot beat up the



channel opposite to the town. It would therefore be impossible to effect a blockade by sea, so as to prevent communications with Acarnania, and thence with Vonitza and Prevesa, whence the island might be supplied with provisions. For a purpose of this nature it would be necessary to occupy the positions of Playa and St. George, and this neither the Turks nor any of the other enemies of the Venetians were able to do. Situated at the foot of broken and woody mountains, and in an uncultivated and difficult country, these positions were always exposed to the insults of the Acarnanians, a brave people, accustomed to endure no foreign force within their country. Ali Pacha would be unable, more than any other, to undertake a similar enterprise. Prevesa prevented him from establishing himself in the plains where the ruins of Actium are situated; and Vonitza closed against him the only practicable road that goes round the gulf of Arta, of which it nearly ranges along the margin. In 1807, when he attempted to make himself master of St. Maura, these two last difficulties no longer existed; nevertheless the communications of his camp at Playa were frequently cut off, and the convoys could only be secured by strong detachments. The Acarnanians alone caused all these difficulties.

The first and most principal fault committed by the Russians when, in accord with the Turks, they effected the conquest of the Ionian Islands, was the surrendry of four of the five towns above-mentioned. Even Parga ought also to have been delivered up to the Turks; and it was only through the repeated prayers of its inhabitants, and their threats to abandon their town, or to bury themselves under its ruins, and we might add, perhaps, its position, which had prevented Ali Pacha from attacking it, that it escaped being separated from the Ionian Islands. In 1807 the town of Parga was again exposed to the same danger. Ali Pacha pretending that, in conformity to the convention of 1800, this place ought to have been delivered up to him, that it had only been retained through an infraction of the treaty, and that France was bound to execute the engagements then entered into with Russia, caused it to be demanded in a formal manner of the Governor-general of the Ionian Islands. The latter, whose instructions contained an injunction to temporise with the Pacha of Joannina, and to preserve harmony with him, was staggered at so positive a demand, and on the point of soliciting from his government the necessary authority to effect the transfer, by means of a report drawn up in the very sense of the claim established. Fortunately the

representations of a deputation of the principal inhabitants, and the observations of several sensible persons, made him change his opinion, when he made a report conformable to the true state of things, and the French government refused to make good the cession.

The result of this oversight committed by the Russian government was to give Ali Pacha access to the sea-coast, which he had so long and ardently desired. This new position enabled him to surround the Souliots, and to make himself master of their country. Hitherto he has made no establishment in the road of Phanari, but nothing prevents him from so doing; and if he should, he will greatly incommode Parga, which he will narrowly watch; and in case of war he will greatly harass the communications from Corfu to Paxó and St. Maura. As soon as he obtained possession of Bucintró he carried his views towards Agioi-Saranda, whose inhabitants, upheld by the vicinity of the Chima-riots, had hitherto resisted his authority. This town was captured, destroyed, and those of its inhabitants who were able to escape from massacre fled for refuge to Corfu. The above road, situated in front of that of Cassopo, in the island of Corfu, was extremely useful, particularly on account of the fisheries of Porto Palermo, which are only at a small distance from it. Its

occupation, consequently, by Ali Pacha is injurious to the commerce of the Seven Islands. Become master of Agioi-Saranda, Ali formed an establishment in Porto Palermo, and erected a small fort at the entrance. By this means he seized on the fisheries, and though unable to carry them on himself, their produce was, nevertheless, lost to Corfu. Having thus got possession of the whole coast to the N. of Bucintró, he threatens Chimara, which he embraces on two sides, and where he has already made attempts. After establishing himself at Agioi-Saranda and Porto Palermo, Ali began to make inroads against the Pacha of Delvino, who, surrounded by his enemy, and debarred from all communications with Corfu, whose authorities had hitherto lent him assistance, was unable to resist. Ali in like manner would have already made himself master of Margarita and Paramithia, if the French Governor-general of the Seven Islands had not constantly opposed the approach of his troops near Parga. Although this detail in a small degree anticipates events, and in some measure breaks through the plan the Author had formed to himself, he nevertheless believed it his duty to make this small digression, serving to prove that the fault committed by Russia in 1800 was one of the principal causes which

placed Ali Pacha in a situation to restrain and almost to destroy the relations of Corfu with the Greek continent; and that it is only by repairing, or at least modifying, this political error that it will be possible to re-establish them on the footing on which they ought to stand.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Relations of the Ionian Islands with the Continent after the Fall of the Republic of Venice.—Ali Pacha still restrains these Relations.—War with Russia enables him to render them nearly null.—France would have been able to re-establish them in 1807.*

**AFTER** the fall of the Venetian republic had placed the French government in possession of the Ionian Islands, it seemed that the harmony in which the latter government had always lived with the Ottoman Porte would have served to give activity to relations which the jealousy of the Venetians had heretofore left in a languishing state. Several united motives tended to produce such a result, which would have been advantageous to both nations. The foundation of the Cisalpine republic, under the protection of France, had placed the whole of the north of Italy under the influence of the French cabinet, and also gave to it a marked preponderance in the affairs of southern Italy. France consequently found herself placed nearer to Turkey

than she had ever before been, and Italy served to her as an intermediate step between her own hereditary possessions and her new acquisition of the Ionian Islands. This circumstance could not fail again to open to her the commerce of Greece, which she was enabled to carry on through the continent of Italy during all the time her state of maritime war and rivalry with England prevented her from prosecuting it by sea. It is indeed true that she did not dispose of the port of Venice, which had passed into the hands of Austria, nor of that of Ancona, which had been retained by the Pope; but those of Goro, as far as the mouths of the Po, as well as of Cesenatico and Rimini, were sufficient to receive the vessels used by the people of Corfu in the Adriatic, and might have served as entrepôts to the commerce of the Epirus and Albania. A large portion of the merchandise sent by the Venetians into these countries was the produce of the manufactures belonging to the provinces united to the Cisalpine republic, particularly the arms; and the French manufacturers who sent their goods there by the way of Marseilles might have forwarded them through Turin, and by the course of the Po, to the sea.

It was not at that time less important to counterbalance the attempts the Austrian government might make, exclusively, to seize on the

commerce of the Adriatic. This, in fact, was by no means impossible. Austria had a great advantage in the possession of the ports of Venice, Zara, Sebenico, Spalatro, and Cattaro, as well as in the possibility of disposing of that of Ragusa, together with the acquisition of a large extent of coast, which furnished her with a great number of vessels and good sailors, and placed her in easy communication with the rest of the Adriatic shores. Nevertheless, obstacles created by the slowness of the Austrian government to change its views, by a national prejudice, which it carries to a ridiculous pitch, as well as by a tendency of habit to follow the wrong steps adopted and retained from the impulse given to the country by Maria Theresa and Joseph II. opposed the improvement of these real advantages. The ports of Trieste and Fiume, both inconvenient and little secure, had been established at a period when Austria could not foresee that one day she would become possessed of Dalmatia and Venice. Seeking at that time to follow up her projects on Albania and the Morea, she stood in need of establishments which might place her in contact with the Adriatic, and in maritime correspondence with Ragusa. It was this same motive which had engaged Joseph II. to lay the foundations of an arsenal for naval construction in the fine harbour of Bucari and



Porto Ré. These projects were extremely wise, and the establishments were of great utility, as long as they were the only means Austria was able to employ to form a navy for herself. But when the possession of Venice, Dalmatia, and Istria had rendered this power mistress of all the north of the Adriatic this utility ceased. Fiume might continue to be the entrepot of the trade of Dalmatia, notwithstanding the danger and difficulties of the navigation of the Quarnero, or gulf of Fiume ; but the commerce of Greece could not be prevented from being transferred from the inconvenient and unsafe port of Trieste to that of Venice. The communications of the latter place with the hereditary states of Austria, through Treviso and Ponteba, were not much longer, and equally as commodious as those of Trieste, through Laybach. A project had been presented by a citizen of Frioul, Count Micheli, to render the Tagliamento navigable from the mountains to the sea ; and this project, which remained during six years before the cabinet of Vienna without any decision, furnished the means of carrying merchandize, by a water conveyance, from Venice as far as Osopo. Besides these considerations, the port of Venice united the advantage of becoming the principal entrepot of the commerce of Upper Italy, provided only the government lent the smallest aid.

Nothing of all this was done. The prejudices of the cabinet of Vienna, and the jealousies of the Austrians against the Italians, whose superiority in all kinds of talent they dreaded, entirely prevailed. Venice was sacrificed to Trieste; her canals were no longer cleansed; no further care was taken to repair the walls of Palestrina; and this city, which had commanded the Adriatic, and whose position enabled her to become the principal trading town of this sea, in fifty years seemed destined to be converted into an uninhabitable lake.

The advantages these faults of the Austrian government gave to France, in enabling her to render the possession of the Ionian Islands useful, was, perhaps, felt at the time, but the oversights were not remedied. Different united causes tended to produce this effect. Notwithstanding the good disposition evinced by Ali Pacha in favour of France, and the professions he had conveyed to Napoleon, at that time Commander in Chief of the Italian army, to whom he had sent confidential agents soon after the treaty of Campo Formio, he did not the less behold the vicinity of a powerful nation with a jealous eye. The connections which the French government had always maintained with the Ottoman Porte did not appear favourable to his views of independence. His object in enter-

ing into correspondence with the French general in chief, and his offer of services, arose from no other motive than a wish to gain, if he possibly could, the confidence of the government about to take possession of Corfu, and avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to take one step forwards in the execution of his main project. His end was answered. The politeness and frankness of General Gentili, the first who came to the Ionian Islands, made him fall into the snare prepared for him by the designing Ali. He did not give the French general time to acquire the necessary knowledge of the true state of things, and to learn the line of conduct followed by the government which had just ceased, as well as the motives by which its measures had previously been directed. Scarcely had the French garrison arrived at Corfu, when Ali demanded permission to transport his troops by sea through the channel, for the purpose, as he alleged, of reducing the towns revolted against him. These towns, known under the name of Vassiliona-Navitza, situated on the other side of the Acroceraunian mountains, which defend the land approaches, and allied to the Chimariots, of whom they are neighbours, were inhabited by Greeks, and had always been independent. The Venetians had constantly protected them for that reason, as

well as because they had never allowed Ali Pacha to have vessels navigating on that part of the coast. The French general, whose instructions enjoined that he was to favour Ali, believed him on his word; and the latter, availing himself of Easter-day, when the inhabitants were all in their churches, and unapprehensive of any attack from that quarter, destroyed these unfortunate towns, massacred the greatest part of the people, and dispersed the remainder into Thessaly.

Unable to prevent the commerce which Bucintró, Gomenitza, and Parga carried on with the neighbouring people, whom he had not been able to subject; he applied himself to restrain it in the strongest manner possible, by obstructing the further extension of these relations into his own states, as well as towards Thessaly. The state of war under which he continually was against the Philates, Souliots, and their allies, afforded him plausible pretexts to cover his views. On the gulf of Arta he established a custom-house, at Salagora, where the vessels going to Arta were obliged to touch; and this post also enabled him materially to harass the trade of Prevesa. At the time of the capture of Malta and the expedition to Egypt, Ali soon foresaw that Turkey would become part of the coalition forming against France; and this ex-

pectation contributed still more to restrain the communications between the Ionian Islands and the continent. Soon afterwards Corfu was in fact besieged, and at length fell into the hands of the Russians and Turks.

Ali Pacha at this period at length beheld the accomplishment of the one among his projects which he had most at heart, and which, in his own mind, was to serve to promote his future plans. At first under the title of protection, and afterwards of conquest, the continental towns belonging to the Venetians, with the exception of Parga, fell into his hands. This important conquest successively made him master of all the coast, as we have already noticed, and the relations of the Seven Islands with the continent, over which he held sway, entirely depended on his will. It did not enter into his views to facilitate them, and he obstructed them as much as was in his power. His character, which impels him to ambitious enterprizes and to command, and his avarice, united to the want of money, occasioned by the execution of his projects, caused him to commit vexations, less against those whom he knew or thought were possessed of funds. These two qualities, so extremely unfavourable to trade, remove to a still greater distance all relations of this kind, founded, as they are, on reciprocal confidence. He did, indeed,



establish fairs at Bonila, and seemed to wish to convert Joannina into an interior entrepot, similar to those of Mavronoro, near Grevna, and of Magarovo, near Monastir; but the fear of his extortionate exactions always kept away a great number of merchants, and the establishment is far from being in a flourishing state. The war which some time afterwards broke out between Russia and Turkey gave him a pretext entirely to break with the Ionian government, and to complete the destruction of the towns which might have been able to promote commercial relations. I say that this war served him as a pretext; for if it had accorded with his views to take no share therein, this motive would not have stopped him.

In 1807, when the Ionian Islands again passed under the protection of France, it seemed as if the most extensive relations were about to be established with Ali Pacha. The latter formed a close connection with France; he had demanded and obtained from her succours against the Russians; and the removal of the latter, who appeared to have inspired him with such lively fears, must have left him at ease, since tranquillity was restored. This, however, was by no means the case. In thus apparently binding himself in a sincere manner to the interests of the French empire, and taking an active part

In the hostilities against the Russians, he was actuated by secondary views, which we shall hereafter explain, whose realization he considered as secure, owing to the importance he imagined he possessed in the quarrel of the two empires. These views were however frustrated, and it was with difficulty he disguised his chagrin, which burst forth in a thousand chicaneries detrimental to the Ionian Islands, and finally broke down all relations with them.

It would have been possible, either by flattering him with promises, or by threatening to protect his enemies, and exciting interior quarrels against him, to have obliged him to dissemble and wink at the commerce of Corfu; but the attention of the Emperor Napoleon was at that time entirely diverted from this object. The war which still continued with England, and the presence of the naval forces of this power in the Ionian sea rendered the communications of the Seven Islands extremely difficult, even with the most contiguous part of the Italian coast. Besides, the acquisition of Croatia having placed Napoleon in possession of the custom-house of Kostainitza, one of the entrepôts of German commerce, he sought to convert it into the principal entrepot of that of Italy and France; and all the caravans coming from Constantinople by Philipopoli and Sophia, as well as those of

Macedonia by Scopi, took the direction of this point.

Nevertheless, the geographical position of the Ionian Islands is extremely favourable to their being formed into the common centre of the commerce of Albania, of a part of Thessaly, and of Macedonia, as well as of the Epirus and the Morea. They stretch along the whole of the western coast of Greece, from the entrance of the Adriatic sea as far as opposite to Cape Matio, and are situated in front of the avenues of all the great communications between the interior of the Ottoman Empire and this coast. Since Venice has become almost a neglected city of a continental power, instead of being the capital of a trading republic, Corfu may easily take its place with regard to Italy, and seize on the commerce which the other nations of Europe came to carry on for their own account in her ports.

In establishing, by means of the system we shall hereafter point out, the communications of Corfu with the Epirus on the most advantageous footing possible, and in such a manner that they cannot be intercepted through the caprice of Ali Pacha, it would be easy to draw to Corfu the commerce of the neighbouring provinces. The fairs of Elbassan, Mavronero, Magarovo,



and of Thessaly, would become for Corfu so many steps on which the merchants of the latter place might rest the basis of a trade which every day would be rendered more important. The direct and easy communications for the caravans travelling through Bucintró, Keracha, and Arta with the points above named would soon make the commodities of the interior flow in on Corfu, and would spread in the Greek provinces the merchandize deposited in the warehouses of this island. Even if that part of Thessaly and Macedonia, which does not depend on Ali Pacha, was to continue to communicate with Salonica, Volo, and Zeitoun, it is not the less certain that the commerce of Albania, of the whole of the states of Ali Pacha, and the Sandgiaks of Ochrida, of Monastir, and Acarnania would take the road to Corfu. The same would happen to Zante and Cephalonia, with regard to the Morea and the Sandgiak of Lepanto. The ports of Anatolia and Mesolongi, on the coast of Roumelia, those of Patras and Arcadia, as well as the harbour of Gastouni, the only ones having easy communications with the interior of the Morea, are opposite, and near to the above two islands.

However, in order to convey a clear and

correct idea of the nature of the relations it is possible to establish between the Ionian Islands and Greece, their importance to the said islands; as well as of the advantages the protecting power may derive therefrom, and may also confer on the Greek Ionians, the Author conceives it useful, and even necessary, to make the southern continent of Greece known to his readers. The provinces of which it is composed are those which are almost in immediate contact with the Ionian republic, and which, as we have just pointed out, are susceptible of easily entering into extensive relations with it. Consequently, before we proceed to describe their commerce, and what this might hereafter be made, the following chapters shall be devoted to a geographical and topographical description of the Greek continental provinces, their divisions, and present form of government. Some details will also therein be found respecting the famous Ali Pacha, of Joannina; the political situation of his states; the causes and means of his rise and aggrandizement; and also his views with regard to the Ionian Islands; details which, it is hoped, will not be devoid of interest to the reader. The personal relations the Author has had with this Pacha, the missions he has fulfilled at Joannina, and the

information he has been able to collect on the spot, have enabled him to satisfy public curiosity respecting this extraordinary man, and to give his opinion on certain points which perhaps have hitherto appeared dubious, or are at least not sufficiently known.

## CHAPTER V.

*Geographical Description of the States of Ali Pacha.—Origin of the Albanians.—Sandgiaks of Delvino and Avlona.—Berat and Avlona.—Chimara.—Delvino.—Philates.—Margariti.—Paramithia.—Souliots.—Argiro-Kastro.—Sandgiak of Joannina.—Klissoura.—Premiti.—Zagoria.—Liapis.—Pachalics of Joannina and of Arta.—Sandgiaks of Ochrida and Kapudan-Pacha.—Monastir.—Castoria.—Grevno.—Sarigöl.—Servitza.—Sandgiak of Trikala.—Larissa.—Platamona.—Alassona.—Pharsalia.—Volo.—Zeitoun.—Modunish.*

**T**HE provinces of which we are about to present a geographical description are known in modern geography under the names of Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Livadia, and Morea; to which we shall add part of Macedonia, in consequence of the little-known cantons of Monastir, Castoria, and Grevna. Notwithstanding this division is not acknowledged by the Turks, who, in the Ottoman empire, make use of no other than ~~than~~ those of Sandgiaks and Beglierbeyliks, \*

\* Sandgiak is the title given in the Turkish descriptions of the Ottoman empire to the provincial governors, whom we ge-

such as are laid down by Hadgi Chalfa in his description of the provinces of Roumelia and Bosnia, we have nevertheless conceived it our duty to preserve the above division, consecrated by habit, and adopted by all modern geographers. Our sketch will, however, mention the Sandgiaks of which each province is composed, as well as the administrative distribution established by the Turks. To render the whole more complete, and give it additional interest, care has been taken to convey some idea of the ancient geography of the country, brought down as much as possible to the present time.

We shall first direct our attention to Albania. This province, whose appellation goes no fur-

nerally call Pachas. Beglierbey signifies a general military governor, and Beglierbeylik is the district under his command. At present the governors of large territories, who are pachas with three tails, assume the title of vizir; and the beys, chiefs of districts and towns, are called Sandgiaks; the same as the jurisdiction over which they preside. The pachas are again divided into three classes, which are distinguished by the number of horse-tails carried before them on occasions of ceremony, in the style of standards, or fasces, as signs of their rank and command. This custom must be derived from the Tartars, and denotes the origin of the Turks. The pachas with three tails, or vizirs, are however equally considered as belonging to the class of the grand officers. Ali Pacha has thirteen horse-tails carried before him in all great processions, representing the various dignities he holds.—Tr.

ther back than the time of Scanderbeg, being formed out of several of the neighbouring ones, we shall endeavour to convey an accurate idea of the origin of the different people now known by the name of Albanians, and of the manner in which they were united and formed into a distinct nation of Greeks and Ottomans. In more remote times, that is previous to the establishment of the kingdom of Macedonia, Illyria extended along the whole of the Adriatic coast, as far as beyond Avlona, and to the foot of the Acroceraunian mountains; comprising, in her southern part, the valley of Vojutza, as far as Klissoura. Her eastern frontiers were formed by the sources of the Kavroni, towards Prespa, and followed, as far as Scopia, the chain of mountains inclosing the Drino, which separated her from Macedonia. The southern people of Illyria, that is, those who now constitute the pachalics of Ochrida and Berat, and part of that of Scutari, remained in a permanent state of warfare with the first kings of Macedonia. The success of these wars was varied, and the advantages frequently reciprocal, till the reign of Philip II., father of Alexander the Great. This sovereign, the best general and the greatest politician of his age, united his whole efforts against the Illyrians, and obtained such great

success over them that he subjected all the people situated between the Acroceraunian mountains and the Drino, as far as the mouth of this river, and annexed their country to his kingdom.

These provinces formed part of the kingdom of Macedonia till the defeat and death of Perseus, when Macedonia being reduced into a Roman province, and divided into four prefectures, or regions, the Illyrian provinces alluded to then constituted the fourth. Afterwards, under the successors of Constantine, a new repartition of the Roman empire into prefectures having taken place, these provinces formed the prefecture called *Epirus Novus*, and part of the *Præfectura Prævalitana*, which nearly corresponded to the present pachalic of Scutari. This new denomination serves to explain why Scanderbeg, born in the Illyrian provinces, assumed the title of Prince of Epirus.

With regard to the Epirus proper, called so from the Greek name Ἠπειρος, which signifies continent, this province, which comprehended the pachalics of Delvino, Joannina, Argiro-Kastro, Arta, as well as the country of the Chimariots, anciently extended along the sea-coast from Cape Lenguella, as far as the entrance of the gulf of Arta. To the east it comprised the

sources of the *Achelous*, or *Aspro-Potamo*, and was separated from Macedonia by the chain of the Pindus. Under the successors of Alexander the country of the Pelagonians, that is, the upper valley of the river Vojutza, was united to Macedonia, and under the Romans formed part of the third region of this kingdom. At the taking of Constantinople by the princes engaged in the Holy War, Michael Angelos, a relation of the Greek emperor, took refuge in the Epirus, and having seized on this province and Etolia, he made himself their sovereign, under the title of despot. His brother Thomas succeeded to him, and having aggrandized his dominions, assumed even the title of Emperor, and left his crown to his descendants. But at the death of Charles, the last of his legitimate successors, his natural children, who endeavoured to succeed him, were deposed by Sultan Morad, or Amurat II., who annexed the Epirus to his dominions.

Some time afterwards the family of the Castriotti, who possessed the lordship of Kroja, which appears to have been the *Castrum Icanum* of the ancients, began to rise, and asserted its pretensions, true or supposed, to the principality of the Epirus. George Castriotti, surnamed Scanderbeg, the most celebrated of them all, not only seized upon the whole of the Illy-



rian provinces which had formerly composed the Prævalitanian prefecture, as well as New Epirus, including the country of the Dardanians, then dwelling in the present district of Prisrenda, but he likewise united to his states part of the ancient Epirus. His dominions extended along the sea-coast from the river Bojana and lake Schiabak, which separated him from the duchy of Zenta, the remains of the empire of Servia, as far as the mouth of the Thyamis, in front of the island of Corfu. Inland in the Epirus he reached as far as Mount Imolika, and took in the courses of the Black and White Drino. After his death the Venetians for some time possessed part of his inheritance, but they were expelled therefrom by the Ottoman emperors. Although George Castriotti had assumed the title of prince of Epirus, owing to his having availed himself of the Albanians \* for his conquests, who were in reality the subjects belonging to his family, the name of Albania prevailed, as the designation of the country over which he afterwards extended his dominion, and which from that time has remained separated by its

\* The subjects of the family of Castriotti were the people mentioned in ancient geography under the name of *Albani*, and who at present are called *Merediti*, and are dependent on the Pacha of Scutari, though they live in almost a state of independence. They have retained their ancient bravery.—*Tr.*

manners, dress, and language, from the other people of Greece. The name of Albanians, given to these people, is nevertheless derived from that formerly attached to the inhabitants of the districts of Kroja, Tyrano, and Dukagino, and which the Greeks, who call them *Αρβανίταις*, have preserved to them; for in their own language they style themselves *Arnautes*.

The southern part of Albania, the next we shall proceed to describe geographically, and which enters into the plan of this work, owing to its relations with the Ionian Islands, in the Geography of Hadgi Chalfa comprehends the Sandgiaks of Delvino, Avlona, and the country of the Chimariots. His description is as follows:—

The Sandgiak of Delonia, or Delvino, holds the following jurisdictions: Delvino, a fortress four hours \* distance from the sea, captured by Sultan Suleiman in the year of the Hegira 944, (1539): Aidunat, or the district of Tziamouri, of which Philates is the capital: Marasak, or Margariti, to the N. of Parga: Harvalisch, on the sea-side, between Delvino and Avlona, corresponding to the canton of Chimara. The

\* In Turkey the general mode of computing distances is by hours of travelling; one hour corresponding to three geographical miles, or the twentieth part of a degree.—TA.

Sandgiak of Avlona contains the jurisdiction of Avlona, which is the capital. Sultan Mahomet took possession of this place in the year 883 of the Hegira, (1472.) Bajazet lost it again, and it was only in 1533 that Soliman recaptured it from the Venetians. Also Mesakia, on the Kavroni. Iskarpar, in the mountains between Berat and Tepeleni. Depedelen, or Tepeleni, a fort taken by the Ottomans in 1486. Pirimedi, or Premiti. Pogonia, where a fair is held, and which is situated in the mountains between Ostanitza and Agiro-Kastro. Ergir-Kastri, or Argiro-Kastro. Arnaut-Belgrad, or Berat.

This division, exact at the period when the work of Hadgi Chalfa was composed, now no longer exists. The aggrandizement of Ali Pacha, and the manner in which this has been effected, gave rise to changes which have completely altered the aspect of things. The Sandgiak of Delvino has passed into his hands, as well as the jurisdictions of Avlona, Tepeleni, Premiti, Pogonia, and Argiro-Kastro; whilst those of Mesakia, Iskarpar, and Berat have been united to the government of Ibrahim, Pacha of Berat. It will therefore be necessary on this occasion to abide by the new distributive order.

The dismemberments of the Sandgiak of Avlona, which at present constitute part of the

pachalic of Berat, as well as the particular district of this city, formerly consisted of two different people, viz. the *Eordetæ* and the *Taulantii*. The first, who inhabited the upper part of the valley of the river *Apsus*, now called *Kavroni*, had for their principal towns *Octolophe*, modernly called *Noscopoli*, situated on the road from Berat to Salonica; *Daulia*, now *Desnitza*, a small town placed on the northern side of Mount Samarino; *Eordea*, which appears to have been replaced by Berat; and *Dacana*, situated between the two former, and of which no vestiges now remain. The Taulantians dwelt along the sea-coast, between the mouths of the *Kavroni* and the river *Aous*, now called the *Vojutza*. Their capital was *Apollonia*, a Greek colony, and celebrated in history for having been the first town of Greece that entered into alliance with the Romans, and was for a long time one of the principal entrepôts of the trade carried on between Greece and Italy. It is now a small town, called *Polina*, situated at about three hours distance from the mouth of the *Vojutza*, on the right bank of this river. The village of *Dragot*, at the entrance of the *Vojutza*, has taken the place of port *Nymphæum* of the Apollonians, and the village of *Pyrgo* occupies the place of *Asparagum*. The other places indicated by the ancient itineraries

as being in the vicinity of Apollonia can only be determined by the distances and the direction of the communications still existing, since all traces of antiquity have been destroyed in this quarter. Thus Stephana, or *Stephanopolis*, must be Shephani, on the Vojutza. This part of the pachalic of Berat is extremely wild and mountainous; the borders only of the Kavroni below Berat presenting plains of some extent.

The district of Avlona, the only remains of a Sandgiak formerly powerful, but now under the dominion of Ali Pacha, is the ancient *Orestis*. *Aulon*, the principal town of this country, was, under the Romans, the second point of communication between Italy and Greece. The vessels sailing from Otranto came to unload at this port, to which it stood in nearly a direct line, as that of Apollonia was opposite to Brindisi. The great communications of these two towns with the interior of Greece passed through *Lychnidus*, now Ochrida, or through *Nicopolis* and Lepanto. On the gulf of Avlona there were formerly three other towns, at present in ruins. These were *Oricum*, now Ericho, situated at the bottom of an extremely commodious bay, where the Turkish vessels generally come in search of fresh water; and it was here that Cæsar landed when he escaped from the vigilance of Pompey's admirals. *Byllis*, situated

between Aulon and Oricum, at the foot of the mountain of Kanina. *Amantia*, entirely destroyed, of which no other position can be assigned than that of the present Porto Raguseo. In the interior the country of Orestis extended as far as the defiles of Klissoura, and consequently comprehended the canton of Tepeleni. This small town was built out of the ruins of the ancient *Omphalum*, the remains of which are still to be seen to the right of the Vojutza, near Louzati. The small town of Tepeleni, consisting of about 400 houses badly constructed, is surrounded by walls, and has a strong castle, in which Ali Pacha keeps a great part of his treasures. It was there also that he was born. Below Tepeleni, on the same river, is the small town of Kaminitza, which is dependent on Tepeleni, and stands in the place of the ancient *Amatria*, indicated in the map of Peutinger. All the district of Avlona is covered with high and extremely wooded mountains, which, joined to the character of the inhabitants, render the passage through it dangerous, even for the people of the country. The canton of Chimara, stretching along the sea-side, and which, by paying an annual tribute of thirty paras, equal to as many French sous, per head, has maintained itself independent of the Ottoman empire; and its inhabitants do not suffer

any Musselmans among them. It is the country of the ancient Chaonians, companions in the victories of Pyrrhus, and reckoned among the bravest soldiers of his army. Their principal settlements at present are, Drimades, situated a league from the sea, on the river of Mount Chimara, or the Acroceraunian mountains, and near the ruins of the Roman road which led from Avlon to Athens, through *Buthrotum*, *Nicopolis*, and *Naupactus*. These ruins are called *Strata-bianca*. Vouno, built on a cragged rock, the foot of which is washed by the sea. Chimara, placed on the back of a hill well cultivated, where the ancient *Chimara* stood. The small town of Dukatis, the chief place of a canton of that name, and inhabited by Turkish shepherds of a savage and barbarous race, has no relations whatever with Chimara. Dukatis appears to be the spot pointed out in the Peutingerian map under the name of *Acroceraunium*. On the coast of Chaonia *Aornus* was to be met with, which was first replaced by a village, and afterwards by a chapel \* and pilgrimage

\* The chapel of St. Theodore is built at the foot of a perpendicular rock. The walls are covered with inscriptions, some of them belonging to tombs hollowed into the solid rock. Among those the traveller may notice is one that relates a singular anecdote. A captain of a merchant vessel belonging to the Greek islands of the Archipelago caused his remains to

in honour of St. Theodore, at the bottom of the bay or Skalama of this name. *Palæste*, whose ruins most probably are those found in the bay, which serves as a port to the small town of Dri-mades. *Panormus Portus*, now called Porto Palermo, a large roadstead, at the bottom of which is a small island covered with ruins, and joined to the continent by a pier. Between Porto Palermo and Chimara is a fountain extremely abundant, and much frequented, which has retained its ancient name of *Aqua Regia*; also *Photice*, most probably Sopotó. *Onches-mus Portus* corresponds to the port of Agioi-Saranda. Finally, *Cassiopeus Portus*, distinct from the Cassiope of Corfu, is a deep bay near

be brought to one of these tombs, which he had previously prepared. The sepulchral inscription, engraved under his own eyes, in the Greek language, but in Syriac characters, in substance contained this notice, "that any one of his countrymen sufficiently versed in languages to read the present inscription was to remove the stone, when in the tomb he would find two hundred sequins destined for him." The inscription remained long unnoticed, when about twenty years ago a young Greek Morean returning from Vienna, where he had performed his studies, touched at the port of St. Theodore, and having decyphered the inscription, dug out the sum. He then engraved the translation of the original notice below it, and affixed his name, his country, and a declaration of his having fulfilled the conditions imposed, all which is still extant.



Denta, to the north of Bucintró. Some geographers, guided by the resemblance of names, have placed *Oricum* at Vouño, because *Oricum* has the same signification in ancient as Vouño bears in vulgar Greek. But in examining the passage in which Cæsar gives an account of the surprize of Apollonia, it becomes evident that *Oricum* could not be so far off from the latter. The canton of Chinara, entirely situated on the back of the steep declivities of the Aeroceræanian mountains, is intersected by deep and craggy defiles, covered with rocks, and consequently almost incult. The communications which existed by the back of these mountains with the canton of Tepeleni and the district of Argiro-Kastro have been destroyed for the security of the country. The same has also happened to the ancient Roman road in the vicinity of Delvino. These motives, and the poverty of the country, oblige the inhabitants to go in search of their fortunes elsewhere; and, warriors by inclination, they are entirely devoted to a military life. As long as the Venetians commanded in the Seven Islands, notwithstanding they were in friendly relation with them, they usually went to Naples to serve, where they formed the regiments of Macedonian and Albanian chasseurs, known under the name of Camisciotti. Since the fall of this republic they

have constantly kept up troops in the service of the power to whose protection the Seven Islands were confided.

The canton of Delvino, which formed the northern part of this pachalic, equally belonged to the Chaonians. This city, whose population amounts to about 8000 souls, stands in the stead of the ancient *Eleus*, and is built on a height between the river Pavla, formerly *Xanthus*, and the Pistrini, which was called *Dodon*, or *Simois*. This town recalls the remembrance of Andromache, widow of Hector, who resided there after the death of Pyrrhus, son to Achilles, and her second husband, where she gave to the neighbouring and surrounding rivers the names of those which bathe her own native country. In this same canton *Phenice* is still to be traced, on the road from Avlon to Bucintró, at the present time called Phoniki, situated on the Pavla to the north of Delvino, as well as *Meandria*, now the village of Alandriana, to the south of the town of this same name situated on the Pistrini.

The remainder of the pachalic of Delvino, which comprehends the clans at present known under the name of the Philates, Thiamides, Paramithians, and Margaritians, was formerly inhabited by the *Thesprotes*, a people renowned in Greece for their wisdom and liberal virtues.

Three of the five towns possessed by the Venetians on this continent belonged to the ancient *Thesprotia*. To the north was seen *Buthrotum*, now Bucintró, a small town, formerly fortified, and situated near a marsh, which rendered the residence there very unhealthy. The port of *Pelodes*, placed near the above, was no other than the outlet of the marshes of Bucintró, which still bear the name of lake Pelodi. On the back of Mount Moutzkeli, towards the *Thyamis*, or Kalamas, stands the town of Philates, fifteen hours distance from Joannina, towards the west. This town, which contains about 400 houses tolerably well constructed, is the capital of the cantons of the Philates, otherwise called Tziamouri. The species of league by which the inhabitants preserve their independence, by paying a small amount of head-money, extends on both banks of the *Thyamis*, from the canton of Jarovina as far as the sea, between Mount Moutzkeli and Mount Olichinio, which separates them from the canton of Margariti. In this canton there are no other places of any importance than the small town of Konispoli and the large village of Liopussi. Formerly *Glikis-Limen* was situated on this part of the coast, which, from the distance named in the ancient itinerary, and its situation at the mouth of the *Thyamis*, sometimes called Gliki, must

have been on the present spot of Gomenitza. Between Bucintró and Gomenitza *Dianium* formerly stood, near to the place where the Han of Keracha now is, and also *Sorone*, situated at the bottom of the bay where Nisi has been built.

Beyond the Thyamis is the canton of Margariti. This town, built on the southern declivity of Mount Olichinio, at about three hours distance from Parga, the same from Gomenitza, and two from the sea, is independent of Ali Pacha, although governed in his name by a Belouk Bachi, or native-born governor. Margariti is the ancient *Gytanæ*. To the southwest of Margariti, on the sea-side, stands the village of Sayades, formerly *Sibóta*, which served as a port to the above town. In proceeding along the sea-coast formerly was discovered *Chimæreum*, probably now Lugora, and afterwards Parga, anciently *Ephyra*, *Gephyra*, or *Cichyra*. This town, of which the port is formed by a small island defended by a well-armed battery, and commanded by a castle in good order, is the only one the Ionian republic has preserved on the continent, as we have already had occasion to notice. After Parga, in following the direction of the coast, were seen port *Comarus* and port *Eleus*, both comprised in the gulf now

called Porto Phanari. At the bottom of port Comarus was *Critane*, now replaced by the ruins of the village and church of St. Giovanni di Phanari. To the north of Parga and Margariti is the canton of Paramithia, dependent on Ali Pacha : but this dependence is not so absolute as to prevent him from frequently experiencing resistance to the execution of his will ; in fact he is under the necessity of entering into constant negotiations in order to keep down open revolts. The town of Paramithia, whose inhabitants amount to 15,000 souls, is situated at ten hours distance from Joannina, and five from Souli, with which it communicates by a very practicable road. Paramithia, in all probability, has taken the place of the ancient *Vathia*. The rivulet descending from Paramithia to Parga, and which was believed to be one of the discharges of the lake of Joannina, was called *Acheron*. On its banks to the north of Parga is seen a village of the name of Palioventza, where the same *Pandosia* was placed which gave rise to so great an error on the part of Alexander, King of Epirus ; who not daring to approach this town, which, according to the prediction of an oracle, was to prove fatal to him, passed over to Italy, where he was killed in another *Pandosia* belonging to the latter

kingdom, whereby the prediction was fulfilled. The canton of Paramithia is the last of ancient Thesprotia.

To the north of Porto Phanari, and at the foot of Mount Kassopo, dwelt another clan which may be comprised in Albania. This is that of the Souliots, formerly known under the name of *Cassiopæa*. Shut up among the almost inaccessible mountains stretching along the rivulet which discharges itself in the bay of Phanari, they maintained themselves till the year 1808, under the form of an absolutely independent republic. But we shall hereafter have occasion to notice them in a more particular manner. The republic of Souli was composed of eighteen villages, the principal of which is Mega-Souli, or Kako-Souli, formerly *Astaros*, *Navarikos*, and *Kiapha*.

The ancient countries of *Thesprotia* and *Cassiopæa* present an aspect of a varied nature. The banks of the Thyamis, and of several other rivers, as well as the cantons of Margariti and Paramithia, afford some well cultivated and abundant plains. The remainder of the country, and particularly the vicinity of Parga and the canton of Souli, is intersected with craggy and arid mountains, where nothing but a few olive trees grow.

In approaching towards the north, to the east

of Chimara, we enter on the country which constituted the pachalic of Argiro-Kastro, formerly dependent on the Sandgiak of Avlona. This country, closed in between the Acroceraunian mountains and Mount *Lacmus*, now Mertzika and Tzoumerka, includes the bed of the river Driino, or Argiro-Potamo, which is the *Chelydnus* of the ancients. This country belonged to the *Atintanes*. At the present day we find Argiro-Kastro situated there, which formerly was called *Hadrianopolis*, and more anciently *Phanote*. This city, which, with its dependencies, can place 12,000 men under arms, is situated on the left bank of the Driino, on one of the lowest divergent declivities of the Acroceraunian mountains, in a smiling and well cultivated country. The other towns of this valley are, Liebovo, built on the western side of Mount Mertzika; Pogonia, whose position is not well known in these mountains, and Goritza, on the left of the Driino, between Argiro-Kastro and Tepeleni. One might some years ago have added Charmova, to the south of Kaminitza, of which nothing but the ruins are now to be seen. In this same valley is the village of Episkopi, where there is a large manufactory of tobacco. Formerly there were among the *Atintanes* several towns, and among others, *Kodrion*, *Antipatria*, *Hecatonpedon*, and *Bæca*, but it

would be extremely difficult to mark their exact positions. It is only probable that Hecatonpedon was situated on Mount Tzoumerka, opposite to Premiti, perhaps the present Pogonia. The position of *Antipatria* accords very well with that of Goritza; but with regard to the two other towns, they were situated towards the upper part of the valley. All the country of the ancient Atintanes is at the present moment extremely fertile, and well cultivated. The valley of the *Chelydnus* is filled with villages, and on both sides the cultivation extends very high on the declivities of the mountains.

To the north-east of Argiro-Kastro, on the eastern side of Mount Mertzika, and in the valley of the river Vojutza, are the cantons of Klissoura, of Premiti, and Konitza, formerly inhabited by the *Paravæi*, who were dependent on *Pelagonia*. These three cantons, formerly governed by particular beys, who were in feudatory dependence on the Sandgiak of Avlona, have now been placed under the dominion of Ali Pacha, who has destroyed the families which governed there. In the country of the *Paravæi* stood the celebrated defile called *Fauces*, or *Stena-Pelagoniæ*. It is the defile of Klissoura so well described by Livy, (lib. xxxii. cap. 5. and 6.) *Antigonia* was also seen there, and in its stead we now find Premiti, as well as *Stym-*



*bara*, or *Stubera*, now Konitza, as may be easily seen by examining the first campaign of the Romans against Philip. With regard to *Enceum*, which geographers assign to the Paraveans, this town was situated on the other side of the Cambunian mountains, in the country anciently called *Lyncestia*, and is now called *Samarina*.

Near the sources of the river Vojutza stands the district of Zagoria, in great measure inhabited by Greeks, and dependant on the Sandgiak of Joannina. The Zagoriats are the ancient Pelagonians, of *Pelagonia Tripolitis*, who held sway in all the valley of the river *Aous*, as far as *Stena Pelagonia*, and were thus summamed because they had only three towns. Their capital, called *Azorus*, or *Pelagonia*, has been replaced by Zagoria, still the chief place of the canton. Their other towns were *Duliche*, or *Toliche*, at present *Tochali*, a large village, and *Pithea*, which has preserved its original name. It was also in Pelagonia that the place called by Livy *Castra-Pyrrhi* was situated. This castle, which he places half way between Klissoura and Mount Metzovo, appears to have stood in the spot where an ancient castle or derwent\* is now

\* Derwent is the name given in Turkey to the small forts or guard-houses situated in the defiles and commanding points,

to be seen, to the right of Vojutza, in front of Ostanitza. The cantons of Klissoura, Premiti, Konitza, and Zagoria, are extremely mountainous, and covered with wood. The valley of the Vojutza is indeed well cultivated, but it is narrow, particularly between Premiti and Klissoura.

Towards the sources of the Thyamis and Chelydnus, between the Pelagonians and the Atintanes, formerly lived the *Stymphæi*. At present they are the Liapis, a people given to theft and brigandage, dwelling at the union of mounts Tzoumerka and Moutzkeli, in the cantons of Delvinaki and Ostanitza, and extending themselves as far as above Liebovo. Their towns formerly were, *Nicæum*, now Delvinaki, a small town situated between the sources of the rivers Driino and Kalamas, on the road from Joannina to Tepeleni, to Argiro-Kastro, and Delvino. *Gyrtona*, now called Jarovina, is a large village two hours E. of Delvinaki. Ali Pacha has a palace there which he has surrounded with fortifications, and converted into a species of citadel, mounted with some guns. Near Jarovina is a lake extremely deep, which appears to have been the crater of a volcano. At Margari, to in which a guard is kept for the police of the roads. It is from this that the inspector-general of the police takes the title of Dervendgi Pacha.—Tr.

the S. of Joannina, stands another of Ali's castles; and on the river Jarovina, near its union with the Kalamas, are large gunpowder works. The canton of Delvinaki, as well as the bed of the Jarovina, are well cultivated, but the remainder of the country is wild, and in a desert state.

To the N. of the Cassiopean mountains, between the latter, the *Lacmus*, or *Tzoumerka*, the *Tomarus*, and the *Pindus*, dwelt the *Dolopes*, celebrated for the oracle of *Dodona*. Their country is comprehended in the Sandgiak of Joannina, and forms the particular district of this city. Joannina, capital of the states of Ali Pacha, is a modern city. Its foundation is attributed to John Cantacuzene, who gave to it his own name, and held himself there independent of the Greek emperors. Some assert that Joannina was founded by Michael Lucas Sebastocrator, and Thomas, Despot of Epirus. Let this be as it may, this city was taken and pillaged in 1424 by Sultan Murad, or Amurat, and from that time it has remained united to the Ottoman empire. Originally it only consisted of a fortified castle, which now forms that part of the town called *Kastron*, still separated from the rest by ramparts mounted with cannon, the gates of which are locked at night. It is in this inclosure that the principal palace of Vizir Ali

Pacha stands ; and on a cragged rock projecting into the lake was a castle used anciently for the purpose of a citadel. Joannina was taken and pillaged by Roger II., King of Apulia, at the time of his expedition into Thessaly, and even its castle was dismantled. But the beauty of its situation, the fertility of the country round, and the great commerce of entrepot carried on there, attracted inhabitants, and it was not only rebuilt, but also considerably enlarged. At the present time this city contains from 45,000 to 50,000 inhabitants ; it is well built, the streets are paved, and it can boast a handsome bazar, or commercial hall. This city would have still been richer, and more commercial, if the arbitrary acts to which Ali Pacha frequently resorts had not driven many foreign merchants away. Ali has caused the palace of Litaritza to be armed and fortified, which is situated on a hill in the middle of the town, and converted it into a second citadel. He has likewise built a new palace to the W. of the city ; and this castle, called Baksche Serai, or by the Greeks Perivoli, in consequence of the gardens which surround it, stands in a beautiful situation.

The lake of Joannina, anciently called *Lacus Acherusius*, or *Acherusia Palus*, extends from the N. W. to S. E. in a space of more than four leagues, and is about a league and half in the

widest part. To the E. of Joannina, towards the middle of the lake, is an island formed of a cragged rock, on which is a village abandoned during the month of September, owing to the frequent earthquakes then experienced there. In front of this island, and near the convent of St. George, a spring issues from the rock in twenty different streams, forming a river sufficiently deep for the purposes of navigation, and which, after a course of about a quarter of an hour, loses itself in the lake. This was formerly the *Cocytus*. A rivulet nearly similar, which also discharges itself into the Acherusian lake, to the S. E. and near Bourkomadi, was the *Styr.* Between Perama and Rodostopos runs a rivulet descending from that part of the Pindus now called Mount Palieri, which, in all probability, was the stream of *Dodona*. At two leagues distance from Joannina, towards the N. W. the lake closes in, and becomes no other than a marsh, which is crossed on a long causeway pierced with a great number of arches. In the middle of this marsh flows a river which loses itself near Douvra, in a swampy lake, at present called Varathron, but which formerly bore the name of *Avernus* (*Ἀορνος*.) The plain of Joannina, that is, the basin which extends as far as the Cassiopean mountains, comprising the villages of Kerkalopoulo, Gondilia, Bis-

toumi, Bonila, Perilepti, and Rabchista, was anciently called the *Elysian Fields*, and certainly deserves this name by its beauty and fertility. At Perama and Kerkalopoulo, on the road to Dzidza, Ali Pacha has country seats, as well as a haram in the latter place. In the country of the Dolopes formerly were situated *Hellopia*, *Cestrina*, and *Cassiope*. The first most probably stood on the margin of the Acherusian lake, opposite to the bank on which Joannina is placed, on a site where ruins are still to be seen, near the village of Dourakan. It is in the castle of *Hellopia*, of which the inhabitants still pretend to shew the remains on a cragged rock, that, according to tradition, Theseus was confined, together with his friend Pirithous, by the King of the *Molosses* and *Dolopes*. *Cassiope* was more to the S.; and it is to this city that belong the ruins still to be seen in front of Dri-miko, exhibiting monuments of the most beautiful Greek style. *Cestrina* was at a small distance from the latter, and at present corresponds to the village of Kastri, a dependency of Paramithia. With regard to the celebrated oracle of Dodona, situated on the back of the great Pindus, in the middle of a forest of ever-green oaks, some persons place it where the monastery of the Prophet Elias (*agios Hiliás*) now stands, erected on the bank of a rivulet which

falls into the *Arachtus*. Others suppose it stood on the spot where there is now a pilgrim's chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and called *Agia Paraskevi*. The latter opinion appears to be the most founded, in consequence of the rivulet which descends from Mount *Palieri* passing near to *Paraskevi*, and afterwards falling into the lake of *Joannina*; and this rivulet must certainly have been that of *Dodona*.

To the south of the *Dolopes* were the *Molosses*, dwelling on the other side of the *Cassiopean* mountains, along the gulf of *Ambracia*, from the mouth of the small river of *Souli* as far as that of the river of *Arta*. This country comprehends the district of *Arta*, of which the capital undoubtedly is the ancient *Ambracia*, situated a little above the mouth of the *Arachtus*, at present called *Potamos tis Artas*, or the river of *Arta*. The port and castle *Ambracius* no longer exist; they have been replaced by a ban and custom-house, which *Ali Pacha* has since suppressed. The district of *Arta*, besides the town of that name, contains the small town of *Trikala* and *Prevesa*, which formerly belonged to the *Venetians*, but of which *Ali Pacha* has since obtained possession. The city of *Arta*, the population of which exceeds 20,000 souls, is well built on the other side of the mountains, to the left of the *Arachtus*, in a bend

formed by this river. It has a bazar and strong castle, which commands the town to the E. This place was considerably more commercial prior to the invasion of Ali Pacha than it has been since it fell into his power. It was the residence of the foreign consuls, whom he has now obliged to come near him to Joannina, where he is able to counteract their views as much as he pleases. Prevesa, which, under the Venetians, contained near 15,000 souls, and at present not 3,000, has been built out of the ruins of the ancient *Actia Nicopolis*, on the north side of the gulf of Arta, of which it is the key, and near to its entrance. This place, which, previous to the year 1799, carried on almost all the commerce of the Epirus, now possesses no traces of activity. Ali Pacha appears to have for object to destroy it, and to leave there nothing more than the fort and batteries.

In the country of the *Molosses* were formerly found the following towns: *Elathera*, now called Louro, a small town with a castle, situated near the river of the same name, and anciently called *Charadrus*. This river entirely issues from the Cassiopean mountains, at an hour's distance to the E. of Louro, and, after running a course of two leagues, loses itself in the gulf. *Charadra*, which no longer exists, but was situated at the mouth of the *Charadrus*.



*Passaro*, as well as *Tremo*, appear to have stood to the N. of Arta, towards Zarakovitza. *Horreum*, where the store-houses of the maritime station of Nicopolis were kept, is probably the situation of the modern Trikala; and *Phylace* was beyond it, on the road from *Ambracia* to *Tricca*, or Trikala, of Thessaly. *Tolgus*, a strong castle, stood on the rock at the foot of which the custom-house of Salagora now is, and where the ruins are still to be seen. The plain which stretches along the gulf from Arta as far as Louro is extremely beautiful, and possessed of an extraordinary fertility; the valley also of Trikala is very well cultivated. The vicinity of Prevesa, which was once equally fertile, and particularly abounding in olive-yards, at present is in want of hands, and the plantations have been burnt to the ground. The rest of the country is mountainous, wild, and uncultivated; and between Salagora and Louro are large salt works.

To the E. of the Dolopes were the *Perrhebi*, inhabiting the sources of the Aractus, or the Delta, formed by the river of Arta and the Diopotami, of which the branches come from Agios, Ilias, and Marino. Part of this country belongs to the district of Joannina, and the rest is dependent on the canton of Metzovo. The small town of Metzovo occupies the situation of no ancient

place. It is inhabited by a colony of Bulgarians, who resorted there in search of an asylum ; and its situation, although in the midst of high mountains, makes it daily increase. It is situated at the point where three great roads separate, and where the caravans pass, when travelling from Joannina to Grevna, Ochrida, Monastir, Salonica, Larissa, and Zeitoun. No ancient towns are known in the country of the Perrhebiens except *Circineum*, now Kirkeni, between Metzovo and Zagoria, and *Menelqis*, most probably under the modern name of Kalavites, on the foot-road from Joannina to Stagous. All this country is extremely mountainous, and little cultivated.

The Epirotian cantons belonging to Ali Pacha's dominions, and which we have just described in the geography of Hadgi Chalfa, are comprehended under the name of Sandgiak of Janina, to which he annexes the following jurisdictions: Janina; Korondos, or Zagoria; Vunidscha, near Sarigöl and Servitza, which is most probably an error of the transcribers; and also Kuñidsha, or Konitza; and Narda, or Arta. This Sandgiak, consequently, includes all that may now be called Epirus.

The provinces of ancient Macedonia under the dominion and government of Ali Pacha, by Hadgi Chalfa are described under the name of

the Sandgiak of Ochrida, and that of Kapudan Pascha. He gives them the following distribution :—

Sandgiak of Ochrida, holding the jurisdiction of Ochrida, situated to the E. of the lake of that name, and inhabited by Bulgarians. Debri, or Dibra, on the Drino. Istarda, situated on lake Ochrida. Mat, situated on the river of that name, called by the present inhabitants Dukagino. Ischim, or Chismo. Akhissar, or Kroja. Prespa, or Persepe. Koridge, or Gortza, towards Kastoria. Kolonia, between Gortza and Premiti. Opar and Tomorindsha; these two last places are situated in the mountains between Prespa, Dibra, and Elbassan, and are inhabited by independent Albanians, forming part of the country of the Gheghes. The jurisdictions of Mat, Ischim, and Akhissar, at present dependent on the pachalic of Skutari, as well as that of Kolonia, forming part of the pachalic of Berat, are omitted in the geographical sketch on which we are about to enter, because they do not belong to the dominions of Ali Pacha. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the jurisdictions of Ochrida, Prespa, and Gortza; the cantons of Dibra, Opar, Tomorindsha, being, as we have already noticed, inhabited by independent and ferocious clans, which, although nominally subject to Ali Pacha, have no rela-

tions with the rest of his dominions, know not the tie of obedience, and, consequently, do not enter into the plan of our description.

Sandgiak of Kapudan Pacha. Its jurisdictions are, Toli, or Monastir; Philorina; Kesrje; Gölkesrje, or Kastoria, on a lake of the same name. Gorbischta, near the lake of Kastoria. Bilischta. Naslidsch, between Kastoria and Dshuma-Bazar. Serfidge, or Servitza. Sarigöl, a dismemberment of the district of Servitza. Dshuma-Bazar. Egribudgiak. Ostrova. Lanka, between Kastoria and Philorina. The whole of these jurisdictions are under the immediate dependence or influence of Ali Pacha, and consequently enter into the description of his dominions.

The southern part of the Sandgiak of Ochrida was formerly inhabited by the *Dassaretæ*, a people of Illyrian origin, and united to Macedonia by the right of conquest. Their chief town was *Lychnidus*, afterwards called *Justiniana-prima*, corresponding to the modern Ochrida, a city containing about 12,000 inhabitants, built on the declivity of Mount Maniana-Petrin, and on the eastern and northern side of lake Ochrida, whence the river Drino issues. The inhabitants are, in great measure, Bulgarians, colonies of whom are thickly scattered in these mountains. The *Dassaretæ* also had *Antipatris*, ge-

nerally believed to be the modern Diavalo, to the S. E. of Ochrida; *Geruns*, now Zendurun, to the N. of Noskopoli; *Uscana*, at present called Istarda, on the S. side of lake Ochrida; *Chrisodium*, supposed to be replaced by Gortza; *Pelium*, now called Plia; and *Brucida*, now Prespa. All this part of the pachalic of Ochrida is extremely mountainous, and nearly uncultivated. In Mount Maniana-Petrin some mines of silver and sulphur are found. The small town of Prespa is inhabited by mountaineers almost barbarians, and extremely poor. That of Gortza, situated in a tolerably well cultivated valley, and on the road leading from Durazzo and Avlona to Salonica, through Berat, or through Ochrida, is more populous and rich.

The districts dependent on the Sandgiak of Kapudan Pacha, and under the dominion of Ali Pacha, correspond to the third region of Macedonia under the Romans, and extend as far as opposite Kara-Veria, where the Sandgiak of Salonica commences. That of Monastir is situated in the southern part of the ancient *Peonia*, also called *Pelagonia* and *Deuriopis*. Monastir, otherwise called Toli, or Bitolia, appears to have been the ancient *Bylazora*, surnamed *Caput Peoniæ*. This capital, extremely rich and commercial, is built on the slope of a hill watered by one of the rivulets which contribute to

form the Vistritza, anciently denominated *Erigon*, and the greatest part of the inhabitants are Bulgarians. It was taken by assault in the year 1373, by Timurtasch Pacha, one of the generals of Sultan Murad, or Amurat, surnamed the Victorious, and the castle dismantled. The territory of Monastir produces abundance of cotton. Unfortunately for it, however, Ali Pacha, availing himself of the right he held from his office of Roumeli Valachi, forcibly obtained possession of the town, and having ransomed it after his own manner, carried away immense treasures. The great trade carried on here prevented the place from thereby falling into total decay, and it now begins to recover from so great a loss. To the N. W. of Monastir is the small town of Magarovo, celebrated for its annual fairs. In this same district *Scirtiana* formerly stood, through which one of the Roman roads passed from Lychnidus to Edessa; the general opinion is that Moschopoli now holds its place. To the N. E. of Monastir, and the N. of Vosantza, on the margin of the river Kutchuk Karasou, the ancient *Stobii* was situated, a municipal town of Peonia. *Andaristus*, or *Euristus*, now Vosantza, also belonged to ancient Peonia.

The districts of Kastorea, Philurina, and Lanka, comprehended the country of the ancient *Æstræi*, situated between the river Ves-

tritza, or *Erigon*, and the Inichori, formerly the *Æstræus*, as far as the foot of Mount Boreas. The capital of these people was *Æstræum*, afterwards denominated *Castra*, or *Casteria*, and it is now called Kesrje, or Kastoria, and is built on a peninsula to the N. of a lake which surrounds it on three sides. The strip of land which unites it to the continent is cut by a ditch, over which a bridge has been built. Kastoria has a castle by no means in good condition. The principal produce of the territory of this place is wine.

Philurina, the capital of the other district, was formerly called *Perseis*. Between Philurina and Kastoria, in former times, *Deborus* stood, which appears to have been replaced by Papsoderini, the present residence of the Cadi of Lanka; and also *Alorus*, situated towards Klissoura. The place called *Geraina* in the old itineraries appears to have been to the S. of the lake of Kastoria. The mountains situated between Kastoria and Philurina are inhabited by mixed colonies of Servians and Valachians. The road through these mountains is extremely bad, which obliges the caravans passing from Grevna to Monastir to prefer the route by Siatista and Kailar.

The districts of Gorbista and Biclista hold the place of the country occupied by the ancient

*Lyncestii*. Their towns were *Ceramia*, in the place of which now stands Gorbista; *Bryannum*, or *Barnus*, at the present day called Biclista, or Bilischta, on the road from Ochrida to Grevna and Kastoria; *Æneum*, now Samarina; *Nicæa*, at present Gramosta; *Heraclea*, at present known under the name of Xevosna; *Melitonis* and *Atalante*, which stood in the respective situations of the modern Dilapso and Lepchista, at least as far as can be ascertained by the distances of the old itineraries. All these cantons are extremely mountainous and woody.

The district of Grevna, lately formed out of part of those of Gorbista and Saragöl, comprehends the ancient country of *Elymea*. Grevna, the capital, which formerly was known under the name of *Elymea*, is a town extremely commercial, and one of the largest entrepôts of the interior trade of this country. It is situated at the junction of the roads passing from Ochrida and Monastir to Larissa and Zeitoun, and of Berat and Joannina to Salonica and Constantinople. Near it is the small town of Mavronoro, where an annual fair is held that is much frequented. In this canton anciently the following towns were situated. *Lyncus*, at the foot of Mount *Lyncon*, at present called Metzovo; this position appears to agree with that of Vodinika, a large village situated towards the sources of



the Venetiko. *Scydria*, which was towards Cherkagna; *Europus* and *Mieza*, on the river *Haliacmon*, now called the Venetico, and which must have stood between Erkinia and Ghergiades. The canton of Grevna is fertile and well cultivated, particularly in the species of Delta formed by the Inichori and the Venetico, between Grevna and Servitza.

The districts of Naslidsch and Dshuma-Bazar were situated in the ancient *Eordea*, a small country comprehended between the ancient *Æmathia* and *Mygdonia*. The small town of Dshuma-Bazar, the capital of this canton, has been built on the ruins of Edessa since the Ottomans obtained possession of this country. Near this place, on the banks of the Vistritza, the ancient town of *Däusara* is remembered. Siatista, another small town built on the spot where the roads from Grevna to Philurina, and from Kastoria to Servitza, cross each other, has taken the place of *Gortynia*. The station marked in the ancient Itinerary, ad. XII. was towards Kailar; that of *Cellæ* at Kirpeni; and that of *Grande* towards Drinovo. The whole of this country is equally as fertile as the district of Grevna.

The districts of Sarigöl and Egribudgiak, as well as those of Karaveria and Agostos, dependent on the Sandgiak of Salonica, occupied the

range of the ancient *Æmathia*, also called Macedonia proper, and which served as the cradle to this kingdom. Sarigöl, a small town situated on the river Inichori, and the capital of an extremely fertile and rich district, is a modern place built by the Ottomans, though perhaps it stands in lieu of the ancient *Eginium*, which was in this neighbourhood. Egribudgiak, situated on the river Indge-Karasou, below Servitza, appears to have replaced *Puclata*, which was on the road from *Dium* to *Beræa*. The latter place was the ancient capital of Macedonia, and is now called Veria, or Kara-Veria. It surrendered by capitulation to the Ottomans in 1364, and was dismantled. *Bodena*, or *Vodena*, which belonged to the same people, has preserved its ancient name, and is a handsome small town to the N. of Agostos, standing on the left bank of the Kutchuk-Karasou. The N. W. of *Vedona*, on the road from *Stobii* to Thessalonica, were, *Antigonia*, which Meletius places at *Kesna*, on the river Karasou, nearly to the E. of *Vosantza*; *Stenæ*, which must be the modern *Kirb-Dervent*; and *Physcæ*, probably *Turboli*. The eastern canton of *Æmathia*, towards the mouths of the *Haliacmon* and the *Erigon*, was called *Bottiaæ*. It was here that *Pella* once stood, the residence of the kings of Macedonia, of which no traces are now to be found; but

this ancient city was situated on the southern margin of the lake below Kara-Veria. *Spartolus* and *Strobus* were also known in this canton; in the vicinity of Bentzi and Seilji; as well as *Gephira*, towards Kolaki; and *Ichane*, on the left of the mouth of the Vistritza.

The district of Servitza, stretching along the sea-coast between the river Indge-Karason and Mount Olympus, was formerly called *Pieria*. The town of Servitza, which is the capital, is tolerably large, and extremely commercial, owing to the annual fairs held there. This is one of the great points of communication for the trade carried on between Larissa and Salonica. Between Servitza, Alassona, and Katrini, is the small town of Livadi, situated on the N. side of Mount Králíchiovo, formerly Mount *Cittius*. It is probable that this place stands on the site of the ancient castle of *Lapethus*; not far from which, and in the direction towards *Dium*, was the monument of Orpheus. The small town of Kadekia, or Katrina, situated on the gulf of Salonica, occupies the ground of the ancient *Halera*. A little to the N. of Platamona is found, on the border of the sea, the village of Litochoro, formerly *Heraclea*. Syara corresponds to the ancient *Beye*. Standia has been built out of the remains of *Dium*, part of the ruins of which are still seen between the latter

village and Syara. To the N. of Katrini, Xetros, or Czetrus, stands in the precincts of the ancient *Pydna*, also named *Cytron*; and Levterochori and Kasier, at the mouth of the Indge-Karasou, are the places marked in the old itineraries under the names of *Alorus* and *Acerdus*. In the inner part of the country, in a line with Xetros, is Valko, which was the ancient *Vallæ*, on the inland road from Dium to Beroea. The districts of Sarigöl, Egribudgiak, Agostos, Kara-Veria, and Vodena, are rich, and extremely fertile; but that of Servitza is, in a small degree, inferior. Here the states of Ali Pacha terminate to the E., though he has not the less influence in the Sandgiak of Salonica, in consequence of his connections with the Bey of Serres.

The Sandgiak of Trikala comprehends the whole of Thessaly, and constitutes another of the governments of Ali Pacha. To it Hadgi Chalfa attributes the following jurisdictions:—Tirkala, or Trikala, a small town with a castle, at two miles distance from the river Kostum. Palatmina, or Platamona, on the sea-side, near the mouth of the Scheftalunehr, or Salembria, which comes down from Jenishehir. Jenishehir, or Larissa, a day's journey from the sea, on the Kostum. Golo, or Volo, at the bottom of a gulf. Czataldza, or Tchataldcha. Velstin, or Velestin. Alassona, on the road from Larissa.

to Salonica. Döminek, or Domenitza. Fenar-Kebir, near to Larissa.

Thessaly was formerly divided into six parts, one of which, called *Estiotis*, comprehended the present district of Trikala, and that of Agrapho, to the S. of the latter town. The second was called *Pelasgiotis*, and corresponded to the districts of Alassona, Domenitza, and Larissa. *Perrhebia* was the third, and took in the present district of Platamona. Fourthly, *Thessaliotis*, which comprehended the district of Czataldza. Fifthly, *Magnesia*, which included the districts of Fenar-Kebir, Velestin, and part of that of Volo. Sixthly, *Phiotis*, which comprehended the other part of the district of Volo, and also those of Zeitoun and Modunish, which for a moment we will take from the Sandgiak of Egribos, to which they now belong.

The capital of the ancient Estiotis was *Tricca*, now Trikala, a city possessed of a population of about 8000 souls, and the seat of government of the Sandgiak of that name. It is built on a declivity of the mountains near the margin of a river anciently called *Lethæus*, and at an hour's distance to the N. of the river *Peneus*, at present called Salembria. The town is commanded by a castle in bad condition, and surrounded by beautiful gardens. In the year 1387 it was conquered by the Ottomans. To the

N. W. towards the sources of the Peneus was anciently known *Oxinea*, now Malakassi, a small village on the road of Metzovo. A little below is the village of Mokossi, which has taken the place of the ancient *Eginium*. Still lower down formerly stood *Phalera* and *Phæca*, in the vicinity of Kukulios and Kastagni. Further on, at the confluence of the Peneus with another river, remembered under the ancient name of *Ion*, we now find a small Greek town, called Kalabaki, or Stagous, it having taken the place of *Gomphi*. At three hours distance, and nearly to the N. of Stagous, on the mountain called Kalaik, are the convents called Meteora,\* situated on perpendicular rocks, to which there is

\* The convents called Meteora, or more properly Meta-Ora, in consequence of their situation, serve as places of exile to the Greek bishops disgraced by the Porte. The difficulty in ascending to them converts them into a kind of state-prisons, divested of all communication with the surrounding country. The basket in which persons ascend is guided by one of the monks, by means of a long pole, for the purpose of preventing it from striking against the wall formed by the rocks, which might create danger. The basket holds four persons. The country people ascend by means of rope ladders, but this is too hazardous for general travellers, in consequence of the great oscillations, which those only who are accustomed can guide and prevent. It is pretended that a Greek family resides at Stagous acquainted with a path formed by the points of the rocks, of which its members make use for the secret commissions of the monks.—Tr.

no access unless by rope-ladders, or by means of baskets raised with a capstan. These monasteries are nine in number. Between Trikala and the small town of Zarko, near Kukulios, the traveller crosses a river now called Pamento, and formerly *Pamissus*. On this river was placed the ancient *Metropolis*, the situation of which accords with that of the modern Flamaristi; in which case the fortress of *Ithome*, at no great distance, would have been succeeded by a monastery standing on an elevation to the E. of Flamaristi. Above Metropolis was *Piera*, now Akia; and more to the N. W., in the mountains towards the sources of the Lethe, was *Atinium*, which appears to be the modern Valemichti. At the mouth of the Pamissus the village of Kukulios occupies the place of *Pharcadon*. To the S. of Trikala is the canton called *Agrapho*, of which the capital is Phanari, corresponding to the ancient *Pherinus*. It is through this canton that a small road passes, which, after following the course of the Achelous, or Aspropotamo, proceeds to Lepanto, and thence to the Morea. This road is extremely difficult and dangerous, and goes over a great number of precipices. On one of those, seen between Phanari and Pirra, is a flying bridge, sustained by two iron chains extending from one side to the other of the precipice, and secured in the rocks.

Travellers fearful of crossing this bridge alone have themselves carried by the inhabitants of the country; an office that is frequently performed by the women. The castle of *Cyphara*, at the head of the river Achelous, which formerly marked the frontiers of Thessaly, and of the Athamanes, is now called Kortza. *Pelion* was towards Turboli. Behind Mount *Othrys*, in front of Trikala, as far as the Phoenix, a river which takes its rise in Mount Otridelecha, and falls into the Peneus nearly opposite to Kukulios, were several towns of which no traces are now to be found.

The capital of the Pelasgiotis division was *Larissa*, called by the Turks Jenishehir. This city, which contains as many as 20,000 souls, and was formerly the capital of Thessaly, is built on the right bank of the Peneus, over which is a well-built bridge near the mosque of Hassanbeg, from which it takes its name. There is also a suburb to the left of the Peneus. The environs of the city, which is situated in the centre of a plain extending as far as Mounts Otridelecha and Ossa, are extremely fertile, particularly in vineyards, which produce wine of a very good quality. Handsome gardens are seen ranging all along the Peneus, but the air of *Larissa* is thick and unhealthy. The city is, however, very commercial, and holds considerable



fairs. The small town of Alassona, on the southern side of Mount Kralichiovo, formerly Mount *Cittius*, has taken the place of the ancient *Oloossum*, or *Ilesium*. This small town, situated on the road frequented by the caravans coming from Larissa to Salonica, carries on a great trade, and has annual fairs, which are held in the summer. The village of Domenitza, to the S. of Alessona, and situated on the same river formerly called *Eurotas*, or *Curalius*, was most probably, in ancient times, *Phæstus*. Between Trikala and Larissa, on the right bank of the Peneus, is the small town of Zarko, consisting of about 800 houses. Between the latter place and Votidi the ancient *Phacium* must have stood; and the ruins we meet near Kutchukeso belonged to *Phagæ*. The small town of Turnavo was formerly *Atrax*. *Cyretia* has been replaced by Tziritziana; and *Mylæ* by Levtochori.

The district of Platamona, which comprehends the country of the ancient *Perrhebia*, dependent on the Pelasgiotis, extends as far as Mount Olympus, and includes both banks of the Peneus as far as Mount Ossa. Platamona, capital of the district, is a strong castle built on the sea-side, on a spot where Mount Olympus, in approaching the shore, forms a narrow defile. This is the place called *Stena* in the old Itinera-

ries. On Mount Olympus, called Olymbo by the Greeks, and Samavat Evi (the celestial house) by the Turks, formerly were *Libethra*, near Heraclea, and now called Nesivo, and *Elonge* and *Condylum*, situated near Urtziani and Raphiani. The valley of *Tempe*, at the present day called *Lykostomos*,\* which commences two leagues from Larissa, and was dependent on Perrhebia, is now as wild and uncultivated as it was formerly flourishing. At present it is a narrow neck of land inclosed within naked rocks. On the side of Larissa there are, however, villages in a tolerably rich state. *Argissa*, which has preserved its ancient name, is a beautiful village situated between Larissa and Seidköi. The castle of *Phalanna* stood near to Dirilli; and *Gyrton*, facing the mouth of the river *Titareusius*, has been replaced by the large village of Baba. The modern village of Klisesi stands on the ground of *Mopsius*. Olmaleu was anciently called *Homilæ*, and Balamo, *Velatiæ*. Between the village of Ambelaka, one of the most beautiful situations of this part of the country, and

\* *Lycostomos* means the wolf's throat; and certainly this modern appellation forms a great contrast to the agreeable idea presented by the ancient one. The Greeks undoubtedly must have conferred this new name on the valley of *Tempe*, because it was through that quarter that the Turks originally came to invade their country.—Ta.

the bridge of the river Salembria are ruins which appear to have belonged to the ancient *Elatia*. *Gennus* stood on the spot where now a ban is to be seen, near to the bridge, and to the left of the Peneus.

Thessaly, properly so called, or *Thessaliotis*, extended to the S. of the river Peneus, along Mount *Othrys*, or *Otridelecha*, from the river Phoenix as far as the foot of Mounts Ossa and Pelion. This country, which contains the district of Czataldza, and a great part of that of Larissa, is very little known, particularly in the western part. The small town of Czataldza, which is the capital, standing on the Zeitoun road, near the margin of a river, which must be the *Enipeus*, has taken the place of the ancient *Crannon*, or *Cranum*, indicated in the old Itineraries. A little to the N., and towards Larissa, is the village of Chalkedonio, formerly *Scotussa*, surnamed *Cynoscephala*, celebrated for the victory gained by the Consul Quinctius Flaminius over Philip, the last king of Macedonia but one. To the S. W. of Czataldza is the half-ruined town of Pharsa; it was the ancient *Pharsalia*, renowned for another victory, which destroyed the fortunes of Pompey, and gave the empire to his rival. This small town is situated on the northern side of Mount Othrys; before it flows the Apidano, formerly

*Apidanus*, and beyond are the plains on which this decisive battle was fought. To the S. of Pharsalia commenced the division of Phtiotis. To the W. of Pharsalia, on the borders of the river *Emिकास*, which is a branch of the *Apidanus*, formerly *Melitea* was situated, most probably between Alos and Risaisa. It is impossible to point out the situations of the other towns which anciently existed in this quarter.

The division of Magnesia extended along the sea-coast, on the furthest sides of Mounts Ossa and Pelion. The town of Volo was not the capital; it was a small town called *Iolos*, or *Iolcos*. At present it is a town tolerably commercial, situated at the bottom of a gulf formerly called *Pelasgicus Sinus*, with a small castle and a good port. This country once contained several very considerable towns. *Magnesia*, which had given its name to it, situated near Cape *Sæpias*, now Siki, in front of the island of Skiato, occupied the place where Kontri-Ammono now stands. Between *Iolos* and *Pagasa*, which has retained its old name, was *Demetrias*, the ruins of which have contributed to enlarge Volo. *Phæra*, known through the celebrated Alexander, surnamed of Pheræ, who made himself its sovereign, has been replaced by Veletin, a small town situated to the S. of a lake, and the capital of a jurisdiction. Round this lake stood

the ancient *Bæbe*, which had given to it the same name, and *Cercinium*, perhaps the present Karla. On the sea-side, and nearly to the E. of Larissa, *Melibea* formerly was placed, now called Klaritza, a small town standing to the S. W. of the cape of this name. Between Melibea and the mouth of the Peneus was *Erimna*, supposed to be the present Mintzeli. Below Melibea, and towards Cape Soepias, was *Rhisus*, now Risa. Between Melibea and Risa were found *Methone* and *Olyzon*, which, in all probability, have been replaced by Pori and Zagoria. Inland was *Sycurium*, now Kastro-Siguro. Between Klaritza and Larissa is the castle of Phanar-Kebir, which appears formerly to have been *Dotium*. It is the capital of a jurisdiction extending as far as the valley of Tempe. To the S. W. of Phanar-Kebir is the small town of Aja, and has in all likelihood taken the place of the ancient *Coronea*. Near Risa, *Hipsus* and *Castanea* have partly preserved their former names, and are called Kisso and Kastania. The large village of Trichiri was anciently *Myonus*. Between Trichiri and Volo, on the eastern side of the latter gulf, were also known *Armenum* and *Æantium*. Here modern Thessaly ends. This country, which contains vast plains, is in general fertile, and well cultivated, even to a great height on the declivities of Mount Kralichiovo. The

districts situated on the Olympus, Ossa, and Pelion are alone in great measure uncultivated and woody.

In order to complete the description of ancient Thessaly we shall subjoin that of the Phtiotis division, including the district of Zeitoun, although it now belongs, as we have before noticed, to the Sandgiak of Egribos. Zeitoun, the capital of this district, is a small town at a league's distance from the sea, to the N. of the gulf that bears its name, and anciently called *Maliacus Sinus*. It carries on a considerable trade, being on the road from Larissa and Salonica to the Morea. It was in ancient times called *Lamia*, and built on the Achelous, or the modern Ellada. *Anticyra*, situated at the mouth of this river, no longer exists. The traveller can go from Zeitoun to Pharsa by two roads; one to the left, through Thavmako, which is the ancient *Thaumaci*; and the other in a more direct line, passing through Ellas and Proerna, villages which have succeeded to two places of the same name. To the N. E. of Zeitoun, on Mount Othrys, is the village of Erinei, which must correspond to the ancient *Eretria Phtiotidis*, of which Livy speaks, (lib. xxxiii. cap. vii.) On the gulf of Volo, to the S. of Pagasa, is the small town of Armiro, formerly denominated *Thebæ Phtiotica*. At the mouth of

the gulf, and near the commencement of the cape standing in front of Trichiri, and called *Posidium*, or *Aphitæ*, was *Antron*, now changed into the village of Fetio. Between Armiro and Fetio were *Pryasus* and *Ptelium*. Between Zeitoun and Cape Fetio were successively found *Phalera*, now Stalida; *Echinus*, which is Echmou; *Alos*, which has retained the name of Aloti; and *Larissa Cremaste*, which was situated inland between Aloti and Armiro. The district of Zeitoun is not much cultivated. That of Modunish comprehended the southern part of the Phtiotis division. Modunish, situated on the road from Zeitoun to Salona, is a town of some consideration, and has taken the place of *Heraclea Trachinia*. Between the mouths of the *Sperchius* and *Asopus* formerly stood *Nicea*, now Nissa. Broio seems to have taken the place of *Thronium*, and Mala corresponds to *Scarphia*. This was the pass of Thermopylæ, famous for the stand and patriotism of Leonidas, and also the key of Greece. The road from Mala to Livadi, in crossing Mount *Æta*, passes by a dervent, which, in all probability, is the site of *Æus*. The Phtiotis division extended as far as the sources of the *Sperchius* and *Achelous*, and comprehended part of the present district of Kerbenesh, now belonging to the Sandgiak of Lepanto. At the head of the river

Sperchius was *Sperchium*, now the small town of Karpenish, and *Omilæ*, which has retained its ancient name. Lower down were found *Hypata*, which appears to be the small town of Patranseki, and *Acypha* and *Megone*, now known by the names of Kipho and Levterochori. Near the source of the Ellada was *Parachelous*, now called Neopatra.



## CHAPTER VI.

*Description of Ali Pacha's Dominions continued.*

—*Sandgiaks of Karli-Ili and Lepanto.*—*Acar-*  
*nanian.*—*Sandgiak of Egribos.*—*Delphos.*—  
*Thebes.*—*Platea.*—*Athens.*—*Sandgiak of Mo-*  
*rea.*—*Corinth.*—*Patras.*—*Gastuni.*—*Elis.*—  
*Olympia.*—*Tripolitza.*—*Argos.*—*Napoli di*  
*Romania.*—*Napoli di Malvasia.*—*Mistra.*—  
*Koron.*—*Arcadia.*

**T**HE southern part of the dominions of Ali Pacha comprehends the countries which, under the Roman empire, were called *Provincia Achaia* and *Peloponesus*; that is, according to the administrative division of the Ottoman empire, it consists of the Sandgiaks of Karli-Ili, Ainabachti, Lepanto, Morea, and Egribos. We shall commence our descriptive outline of these regions by the western part and the gulf of Arta.

The Sandgiak of Karli-Ili, according to Hadgi Chalfa, is composed of the jurisdictions of Prevesa, now dependent on Joannina; Agia-Maura, which belongs to the Seven Islands; Vunidscha,

or Vonitza; Ekseremere; Enkili-Kastri; Alto; and Abulabor. This given extent comprehends the ancient *Acarnania*, *Amphilochia*, and part of *Ætolia*, to which the four last jurisdictions belonged.

The Sandgiak of Ainabachtî, on the authority of the same geographer, contains the jurisdictions of Ainabachtî, or Lepanto; Karavari, to the E. of Lepanto; Abukor; Olunduruk; Gölhissar; and Kerbenesh, or Karpenish. This same Sandgiak also takes in the remainder of Etolia, the country of the *Athamanes*, and part of that of the *Locri-Oxoles*.

Amphilochia was a small district laterally dependent on the jurisdiction of Vonitza before this place fell into the possession of the Venetians, and situated to the E. of the gulf of Arta, at the foot of Mount Makronoro, formerly called *Olympus*. The ancient capital was *Argos*, surnamed *Amphilochicum*. The modern Philokia, a small but well peopled town on the river Pogo, or *Inachus*, of Epirus, is not exactly built on the ruins of Argos, since these are seen nearer to the sea, at the commencement of the Delta formed by the Pogo at its mouth, not far from the village of Xerakia. Part of the enormous blocks of marble of which the walls of the ancient Argos were composed has served Ali Pacha to construct the new fortress of Preveza.

To the S. of Philokia we find, on the borders of the gulf, the village of Balti, which was formerly a small fortress, called *Alpæ*. The valley of Philokia, and particularly the country round the mouth of the Pogo, is well cultivated, but the remainder is arid, or covered with wood.

Acarmania, called by the Greeks Xeromeros, or arid country, extends on the S. of Amphiloehia, between the sea and the river Achelous. This country, properly speaking, never had a capital; Vonitza, which is now the principal town, and was formerly called *Limnea*, is a place of no date or importance. *Thyræum*, which anciently existed in the centre of Acarnania, is entirely destroyed; and this country, subsisting in a state of absolute anarchy, and its inhabitants, scattered in the woods and rocks of Mount Manina, or *Aracynthus*, and dwelling in solitary abodes, has not a single town, or even a village, unless this appellation can be bestowed on Sparto and Loutra. On a rock at the extremity of the cape, situated to the N. of Vonitza, are the ruins of a castle called *Paleo-Kastro*. This was the ancient *Anactorium*. Opposite to Prevesa, and to the E. of Cape Figalo, along the sea-shore, the traveller will easily discover the ruins of a city of a square form, of which the walls in some places still rise as high as six feet; and near to the same place, in

the direction of Cape Figalo, are also to be seen the remains of an ancient circus. It is impossible not to know that here *Actium* once stood. D'Anville was, consequently, mistaken in placing the latter city on the spot which we have assigned to *Anactorium*. The latter castle, situated in the midst of rocks, affords no convenient place or situation for the celebration of the Actian games; whereas the ruins of which we have just spoken are in a tolerably large plain, to the N. of which is the circus before alluded to. Augustus built the town of Nicopolis, surnamed *Actia*, in front of Actium, at the expense of which it was undoubtedly peopled. If he carried it higher up the isthmus, which is a league to the N. of Prevesa, it must have been for the express purpose of opening a second communication between the gulf and the sea, and with a view to establish therein a more convenient port than that of Prevesa. Indeed we still see the traces of the canal which the Romans had begun to dig. The ruins of Nicopolis, of which we have not spoken in our description of the Sandgiak of Joannina, in order not to interrupt the thread of our narration, chiefly consist of the ruins of a fortress, whose walls are still under a state of good preservation in many places. In the interior of this fortress, standing near the margin of the

gulf, we discover the remains of a large building, or palace, composed of several suites of apartments and courts. The inner walls of this palace are of brick, but the marble with which they were cased has been carried away. Round the main building are still seen the remains of large store-houses, as well as other buildings, supposed to have been barracks. From this fortress as far as near Mityka it is possible to follow the traces of the ancient walls of the city. Between these walls and Prevesa the ground is filled with heaps of ruins, extending to a considerable distance. To the N. of the fortress, at the distance of about 400 toises, at the foot of the last divergent ridge of the Cassiopian mountains, is a theatre in good preservation, and near it the remains of a circus. Between the theatre and the fortress are the perfectly visible traces of a wide and deep canal, commencing at the gulf, and already bored to the distance of about 300 toises. The camp of Octavius was between Nicopolis and Louro; and that of Anthony towards Salagora and Ambra-cia. The naval battle was fought without the gulf; the fleet of Octavius having its left wing towards Mytika.

In proceeding along the coast of Acarnania, first was seen the castle of *Dyorictus*, pointed out in the ancient Itineraries; this is now a

castle in a ruined state, called Paleo-Kastro, commanding the sea-shore in front of St. Maura. After Dyorictus came *Phalærus*, now called Kondili. More to the S. and in front of the island of Kalamo, are now seen Phigo and Solion; the first was *Alyzus*, or *Halyzon*, and the second *Solium*. Lower down came *Portus Astacus*, modernly named Dragomestro. Between the latter and the mouth of the Achelous was *Echinus*, which gave its name to the *Echinades*, now called the Corzolari Islands. *Echinus* is distinguished by the modern name of port Petala. A

The ancient country of the Athamanes, situated near the sources of the Achelous, was composed of part of the present districts of Trikala, in Thessaly, and of Karpenish and Abulakor, dependant on Lepanto. It was a long and narrow valley contiguous to the Epirus, Thessaly, and Etolia. The capital was *Argithea*, on the road from Ambracia to Gomphi and Tricca. This is now the small town of Pirra, still standing on the same route. The whole of this country, at present in a desert state, and filled with precipices, contains nothing but villages. The chief of these are, Porta, formerly *Petreum*; Korza, corresponding to the ancient castle of *Cyphara*; Todoriana, anciently *Teum*; Itoni, formerly *Athenæ*;

Pandia, anciently *Pallas*; Serrovigli, formerly *Mideon*; Argiro-Kastro, anciently *Ænoris*; and Milo, known by the ancient name of *Acanthus*.

The Athamanes, allies of the Etolians, were extremely good soldiers, and of the greatest service to the Romans during the first Macedonian war. Their country is now a poor, wild, and little frequented range, notwithstanding it is situated on the direct route from Trikala to Lepante; but the road is so bad that no caravans can travel over it.

The ancient Ætolia included the remainder of the valley of the Achelous, or Aspro-Potamo, as well as that of the river *Evrosus*, or Phidari, and consequently comprehended the modern districts of Enkili-Kastri, Abukor, Abulahor, Alto, Exeremere, and Gölhissar. On the Achelous, immediately below the country of the Athamanes, is the small town of Abulahor, formerly *Agrium*, situated below the confluence of a river issuing from the Pindus, and called *Petitarus*. Between Milo and Abulahor the Achelous receives another river, anciently named *Thestius*, from the appellation of the town which originally stood at its mouth. Below Abulahor is the village of Kalisia, which has taken the place of the ancient *Chalcis*. To the S. of the latter formerly was *Stratus*, the capital of the Etolian league, now the small town of En-

kili-Kastri, and the chief place of a jurisdiction. Below Enkili-Kastri, and on the same river bank, is Ivoria, anciently *Ithoria*. Opposite to this village is that of Katoki, supposed to have taken the place of *Canope*, otherwise denominated *Arsinoe*. Katoki is situated a little above the mouth of a river formerly called *Anapus*. At the mouth of the Achelous formerly stood the town of *Æniades*, once extremely commercial and well peopled, but now converted into the small place of Trigardon, to which, in consequence of the shoals, vessels cannot in the present day approach. Above Trigardon the modern Neochorio, situated on the right bank of the Achelous, has taken the place of *Ænia*; and Arimvopoli occupies that of the ancient *Pænium*. More to the E. was *Pleuron*, now Mastro. Between the mouth of the Achelous and that of the Evvenus, on an island situated in the middle of a lake formerly called *Cynia*, is the town of Anatoliko, which occupies the precincts of the ancient *Dukiche*. This small town carries on a considerable share of trade, and is one of the principal entrepôts of the gulf of Lepanto and the Ionian Islands. Between Anatoliko, Galata, and a small lake, formerly called *Unia*, is the town of Mesalongi, on a strip of land projecting into the sea, where *Pylemus* once stood. At the mouth of the Phidari, on the



spot where another *Chalcis* existed, but destroyed many centuries ago, is the modern Galata. A league higher up on the right bank of the same river of Phidari is the small town of Aita, or Anta, the capital of a jurisdiction; it was anciently called *Oenus*. Between Aita and Lepanto is Evreo-Kastro, built on the ruins of *Calydon*, celebrated in the history of heroic times for the fatal death of Meleager, and the hunt of the wild boar. The low grounds where this hunt took place still exist between Aita and Galata. To the N. E. of Lepanto, and on the margin of the Phidari, is the small town of Olunduruk, formerly *Halysarna*; and between the latter and Aita is Makrino, in former times *Macrynia*.

To the N. of Etolia, on the furthest side of Mount Moutzraki, or *Tymphrestus*, not far from the sources of the Sperchius and the Cephissus, was the ancient *Ephyra*, most probably now the small town of Exeremere, pointed out by Hadgi Chalfa. To the N. of Evreo-Kastro is a lake formerly called the lake of *Triphon*, on the borders of which once stood the towns of *Thermus* and the castle of *Pamphla*, now Vrachori and Gölhissar, (castle of the lake), the capital of a jurisdiction. It was between Vrachori and Enkili-Kastri that the town of *Lysimachia* formerly stood. From Evreo-Kastro, in ascending

the course of the Phidati, we successively reach the small towns of Kirkineo, Abukor, and Sappanda, which stand in the places of the ancient *Tichinum*, or *Cercinium*, *Ægitium*, and *Cellium*.

The country of the Locrians Ozoles comprehended not only the districts of Lepanto and Karavari, but also that of Salona, now dependant on the Sandgiak of Egribos. Ainabachtî, Enebechtî, or Lepanto, now called by the Greeks Nepaktos, and celebrated for the naval victory gained by Don John of Austria over the Turks in 1571, was the principal town of the Locrians Ozoles. It is built on the declivity of a hill descending as far as the sea. The town is surrounded with fortifications, but they are in a decayed state. In the year 1494 Sultan Bajazet caused this place to be besieged by the Kapudan Pacha \* and Mustapha Pacha, Beglierbeg of Roumelia. The Venetian fleet was defeated, and the place captured the same year. After the taking of Lepanto, Bajazet caused the two castles to be built which now defend the entrance of the gulf. The port of Lepanto is too small to admit vessels of any considerable size; they are, consequently, obliged to anchor without in the road, or in front of Patras. Along

\* This is the title of the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleets. He is one of the great officers of the empire.—Tr.

the sea-side, in ascending towards Salona, was found *Evantia*, which, by the distance marked in the ancient Itineraries, must have been situated on the spot where the modern Kusmopli stands. *Erithræ* and *Æneum* are now called Petrioneso and Psaromatia. Inland is the small town of Karavari, the situation of which corresponds to that of *Potidania*. At the entrance of the gulf of Salona is the small town of Galaxidi, on the site where *Æonthe* once was placed. Within the gulf was *Telephon*, now Porto Longo. The last town of the Locrians Ozoles was *Amphissa*, where the assembly of the Amphyctions was held. It is now Salona; a town carrying on a considerable trade, and situated on the road from Zeitoun to the Morea, through Lepanto.

The Sandgiak of Egribos contains, according to Hadgi Chalfa, the following jurisdictions: Egribos, or Negropont, situated in the island of this name; Kisilhissar, Castel-Rosso, or Karysto, to the S. of the island of Negropont; Oderbos, a castle with a fort to the N. of said island; Izdin, or Zeitoun; Modunish; Talanda; Atina, or Athens; Egina, in the gulf of the same name; Mestube, between Megara and Thebes; Esedabad, to the N. of Livadi; Rubus, or Orope; Istifa, Thivai, or Thebes; Salona; Kephsa, or Kephisia; Megara. The jurisdic-

tions of Egribos, Kisilhiassar, and Oderbos, not forming part of the dominions of Ali Pacha, will not enter into our description.

To the N. of the Locrians Ozoles was the ancient Doris, situated near the sources of the Cephissus, now called the Mavroneró, and corresponding to the upper part of the district of Esedabad. The ancient towns of the Dorians were *Aciphus* and *Erineus*, now Kolobate and Paleo-Kastro. The situations of *Boum* and of *Cythium* on Mount Ceta, or on Mount Tymphrestus, are unknown.

Below the Phthiotis division of ancient Thessaly, along the sea-coast, and in the district of Talanda, dwelt the Locrians Epicnemides and Opuntii. The first derived their name from the town of *Cnemis*, the ruins of which exist in a place now called Paleo-Kastro, on a cape in front of Litada, in the island of Negropont. Nearly to the N. of Livadia, at the bottom of a small gulf formerly called *Opuntius Sinus*, is the small town of Talanda, built on the sea-side, at the foot of the ancient *Opus*, capital of the Opuntian Locrians. Talanda has probably derived its name from the island of Atalanta, which is near. To the N. of Opus was *Cynus*, now Kimo, situated on a promontory. To the S. E. of Talanda, on the furthest side of Mount Mesavio, or Ptoon, and which separates it from

Lake Topolias, is Proskina, standing in the place of Upper *Larymna*.

To the S. of the Opuntian Locrians and the Dorians was the ancient Phocis, which corresponds to the present district of Esedabad, and part of those of Salona and Thebes. On the margin of the gulf of Lepanto, the first port of Phocis was that of *Billis*, now port Janitza, at the foot of Mount Phœnix, or Citheron. In following the same direction towards Salona we come to Aspropiti, formerly *Antycira*, and afterwards to *Mideon*, which has retained its original name. At the bottom of the gulf of Salona, and at the mouth of the river descending from the latter town, was *Cyrrha*, of which a custom-house is all that now remains. More to the N. on the river *Plistus*, is Krissa, which has also retained its ancient name of *Crissa*. At a small distance towards the N. E. of Krissa was the city of *Delphos*, celebrated for the temple and oracle which existed there; at present it is a village called Kastri. On the road from the latter to Livadia we find Arakova, which has taken the place of *Ambrissus*. On the road from Aspropiti to Livadia is *Stiris*, the name of which has not been changed. Between *Stiris* and *Mideon* formerly stood *Trachis*, now *Destina*. In ascending the course of the Cephissus, or Mavronoró, on the road from Livadia to Zei-

toun, we successively pass by Basso, Mavroneró, and Skripo, which anciently were *Panopus*, *Peripotamis*, and *Philobates*. Below Skripo, at a small distance from the Cephissus, is Kia-pori, anciently *Hyampolis*. On the road leading from Arakova to Zeitoun we meet with Likora and Doulia, which stand in the place of *Licorta* and *Daulis*. On the direct route from Salona to Zeitoun, after passing Mount Liakora, or *Parnassus*, we descend to Agoriani, formerly *Tithorea*. On the other side of the Cephissus, and on the same road, are Dadi and Stouvala, anciently called *Amphiclea* and *Lilea*. Between Dadi and Doulia, on the left bank of the Cephissus, is the small town of Turkochori, capital of the district, and occupying the place of the ancient *Elatea*.

The districts of Thebes, Rubus, or Orope, and Livadia, are contained within the ancient limits of *Bæotia*. Thebes, now called Thivai, or Istifa, retains nothing of its ancient greatness. The citadel of *Cadmus* no longer exists; and this city, which once extended on the declivity of Mount Citheron as far as towards Lake Hylia, is now no other than a small and mean place. To the N. of Beotia, at the distance of two short leagues from Livadia, and the same from Lake Topolias, or *Copais*, is the small town of Kaprena, formerly *Cheronea*, the coun-

try of Plutarch, and famous for the victory gained by Philip, father of Alexander, over the Athenians. On the left bank of the Cephissus, and at a small distance from its mouth, which is extremely marshy, the ancient *Orchomena* was situated, where Sylla obtained a victory long disputed with Mithridates the Great. Along the southern margin of Lake Copais were *Alalcomenæ* and *Haliarte*; the first is now called Kalamata, and the second is the small town of Tri-douni. To the S. E. of Kaprena stands Livadia, corresponding to the ancient *Lebadea*. This town which in modern geography gives it name to the ancient province of *Achaia*, is not even comprised within the districts of the Sandgiak of Egribos, as they are laid down by Hadgi Chalfa. Between Livadia and Thebes, and on the right of the road, is the small town of Granitza, which has succeeded to the ancient *Coronea*. It is situated on an elevation, at the foot of which flows a river formerly called *Lamus*, issuing from a lake at the foot of Mount Helicon, which afterwards loses itself in a chasm near Livadia, to the S. On the eastern declivity of Mount Helicon is the small town of Erimo-Kastro, formerly *Thespiæ*. To the W. of the latter, not far from Neochorio, and near the lake above alluded to, was *Ascrea*; perhaps it corresponds to Neochorio itself. To the E. of

Aspropiti, and in the vicinity of a village, are the ruins which belonged to *Thisbe*. The two villages of Agia and Dampo, situated between Port Janitza and Livadostro, occupy the positions where *Siphace* and *Creusis* once stood. The port of Livadostro was anciently that of *Leuctra*; and near Port Psato was the small town of *Pagæ*, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the sea-side, to the W. of the latter place. In the valley which stretches from Port Livadostro towards Kokla, *Leuctra* was formerly situated, the theatre of one of the triumphs of Epaminondas over the Lacedemonians: but few traces of it are now left. To the N. W. of the small town of Erimo-Kastro is the village of St. George, which has taken the place of the ancient castle of *Cerestus*. The mountain rising between Erimo-Kastro and Thebes is that on which dwelt the Sphynx, conquered by Oedipus. At the bottom of Lake Topolias, towards the E., formerly stood *Telphosum*, now Hungaro. Between the latter and Moulki, near a church called Montzaraki, are the ruins of the ancient castle of *Onchestus*. To the N. E. of Hungaro is the small town of Kokino, near lake Topolias, which has replaced *Acrephia*. The ruins lying to the N. E. of the Theban lake are those of *Hylia*, which gave its name to this lake. The lake of Topolias communicated with the sea by



means of two canals, which the Thebans kept in the best order, with a view to prevent inundations; they are called by the modern Greeks Kata-Vathra. At the mouth of these canals anciently was situated *Larymna Inferior*, now Skriponeri. In following the direction of the sea-coast, after passing the mouth of the small lake of *Thingros*, we find the village of Lokisi, which has taken the place of the ancient *Anthedon*. In front of Egribos, and at the bottom of the bay, to the N. of which stands the fort of Kara-Baba, built at the extremity of the bridge over the *Euripus*, formerly was *Aulis*; but no vestiges remain of this city, so celebrated for being the rendezvous of the Greek fleet previous to the siege of Troy, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

Egribos, or Negropont, corresponding to the ancient *Chalcis*, capital of *Eubæa*, was captured in the year 1462 by Mahomet II., who besieged it by land whilst his Vizir, Mahmud Pacha, pressed it by sea. It was taken by assault, in sight of the Venetian fleet which had come to succour it. To the S. of the town is the port of Negropont, corresponding to that of Aulis, and capable of containing 400 vessels under good shelter; but the port opening to the N. of the town is by no means so secure. Mahmud Pacha caused the bridge to be built which now unites

Egribos to the continent, having a draw-bridge in the centre. He also constructed the fort of Kara-Baba-hissar. Between Egribos and Thebes was *Schænus*, now Spahides; and between the latter and Kara-Baba, towards the N., was *Mycalessus*, of which no traces are now to be found. *Oropus* and *Tanagra* have nearly preserved their ancient names. The modern small town of Oropo, called Rubus by the Turks, is the capital of a district; and between it and Egribos is the village of Dramich, built on the ruins of *Teumessus*. A small river flowing from N. to S., and falling into the Asopo above Tanagra, is the ancient *Thermodon*, on the banks of which Theseus overcame the Amazons. At the head of the Asopo, or *Asopus*, near the village of Kokla, are the ruins of *Platea*. It is in the plain extending to the N. of the latter place as far as the Asopo that the celebrated battle of Platea was fought, in which the defeat of a numerous Persian army saved the Greeks from slavery. Vilia, a little more to the S., probably corresponds to the ancient *Hysia*. On the southern declivity of Mount *Cytheron*, now called Mount Elathea, was the ancient *Eleuthera*, but its exact situation cannot be assigned. It, however, appears to have stood on the spot where the ruins of a fortress are still to be seen, to the N. of Kondoura. *Erythra*, formerly si-

tuated at a small distance from the right bank of the Asopus, has probably been succeeded by Chalessi.

The districts of Athens, Mestube, Kephisia, and Megara, comprehended the ancient Attica and Megaris. Athens, which was their capital, was taken by Timurtash Pacha, one of Bajazet's generals, in the year 1378. This renowned city was then so much plundered and destroyed by the Turks, that they reduced it to the deplorable situation in which it now stands. The long walls which led from the city to the two ports, the intervals of which were filled up with magnificent houses and public monuments, have long presented to the eye no other than a series of ruins and heaps of fragments. The town is now nothing more than a mean place surrounding the citadel, and bearing the aspect of misery amidst the piles of ruins with which it is enveloped. No traces can be found of the celebrated Academy, the Lyceum, the Ceramicus, or of the town of Colonos, where Oedipus came to end his days. The village of *Ceramus* is, however, still inhabited, and called *Sepolia*. The port of *Piræus* is at present known by the name of Port Lion; and that of *Phalerus* is termed Port St. Nicholas, or Phanari. The island of Salamis is called Kolouri; and near to the village of Ambelaki are the ruins of the town of *Salamis*. It

was in the strait between the island of Salamis and the promontory formed by the continent, and between Athens and Daphni, that the naval battle of Salamina was fought. The Greek fleet was in the road of Eleusis, and that of the Persians, so infinitely superior in the number of vessels, was between Egina and Salamina. Without the stratagem of Themistocles the Persians would never have attacked the Greeks, and this capital fault was the cause of their defeat.

Along the eastern coast, immediately beyond Oropo, we approach the small village of Kalamo, built a little above the ancient *Delphinium*, which stood on the sea-side. Afterwards followed the peninsula of *Chersonesus*, in which was the castle of *Rhamnus*, now replaced by the small town of Evreo-Kastro. To the S. of the latter, at the distance of a short league from the sea, is the small town of Marathon, situated on a large rivulet which forms a marsh between Marathon and the sea; this rivulet corresponds to the ancient *Erasinus*. To the N. W. of Marathon is seen the modern village of Kapendritti, formerly *Trisorythus*. It was in the valley between Kapendritti and Marathon that the famous battle between the Athenians and Persians was fought. *Brauron*, originally situated on the southern side of the mouth of the river *Erasinus*, is now Vronna. To the S. of Cape Ka-

valo, which anciently bore the name of *Cynosura*, is Port Raphti, formerly *Panormus*; and on the peninsula to the N. of the latter port are the ruins of *Prasiæ*. The port of Mandri corresponds to that of *Thoricus*, of which the ruins, called by the present inhabitants Theriko, are to be seen to the W. *Potamus* was a port a little to the N. of Mandri. In front of Theriko is the island of Makronisi, formerly *Macris*, or *Helena*. Cape *Sunium* is now called Cape Kolonni, which name is derived from the ruins of the temple of Minerva Sunias, still to be seen at the extremity of the cape. To the W. of the cape is the island of Gaidaro-Nisi, formerly *Patroclis*. In ascending towards the N., and in the direction of the coast belonging to the gulf of Egina, the first village we meet is that of Elimbo, at a small distance from the sea. This village stands in the place of the ancient *Axone*; and opposite is the island of *Eleusa*, now Elisa.

The villages of Vari and Lombriko, to the N. of Elimbo, have succeeded to *Thorea* and *Lampra*. In this vicinity also is Cape Halikes, formerly *Zoster*, as well as the island of Phalkoudi, anciently called *Hydrusa*. Between this cape and Athens is still another village, called Trakones, which stands in the place of *Æxone*. Between Athens and *Eleusina*, now called Lef-

sina, is discovered the village of Daphni, which has preserved its original name; also Megara, now a small town, and capital of a jurisdiction, and situated on an elevation a quarter of a league from the sea. Its port, near which was the castle of *Nysa*, is now destroyed, and forms nothing but a bay. From Megara a difficult road, leading along the Scyronian rocks, now called Kali-Skala, proceeded to Corinth, through *Crommyon*. Another road, not less difficult, passed over Mount Geranea, now called Paleo-Vouni, through *Tripodizais*, where a derwent is at present situated. A third road led to the port of Pagæ, through a defile of Mount Makriplai, which bore the name of *Ægosthena*, or the defile of the goat. Between Megara and Eleutheræ, and beyond the defile now called Diskala, was the small town of *Rhus*, modernly called Kondura. To the N. of Eleusina were *Thria*, *Ænoc*, and the castles of *Panactum* and *Phylæ*; at present the three first places are called Kocha, Vlachochori, and Yegna, and the ruins of *Phylæ* exist to the N. of Kocha. Above Athens, on the Cyphissus, at the foot of Mount Penteli, or *Pentelicus*, is the small town of Kephisia, or Kephsa, the capital of a jurisdiction. This place has retained its ancient name, which was Cephisia. The other places of ancient Attica, whose positions may be pointed out with

any degree of precision, are *Gephyra*, *Trinemcis*, and the castle of *Decelia*. The two first correspond to the situations of the modern *Varidobi* and *Menidi*, and the third was where a church now stands dedicated to St. Marc, at the foot of Mount Nozea, or *Parnes*, and to the N. of *Varidobi*.

Peloponesus, or the Morea, in the administrative distribution of the Ottoman empire, forms two *Sandgiaks*. That of Morea, properly so called, corresponds to that of *Misistra*; but as generally there is only one governor there, *Hadgi Chalfa* estimates this peninsula as only one *Sandgiak*, to which he attributes 28 jurisdictions, although its enumeration does not contain more than 22. These jurisdictions are, *Kordos*, or *Corinth*; *Kalaverta*, or *Kalavritta*; *Vistidschä*, or *Vostitza*; *Baliabadra*, *Badrad-schick*, or *Patras*; *Hulomidsch*, or *Castel-Tornese*; *Phanari*; *Phirina*, now called *Tripolitza*; *Kartina*, or *Karitena*; *Londar*, or *Londari*; *Archos*, or *Argos*; *Anaboli*, or *Napoli di Romania*; *Aja-Petri*, or *Prasto*; *Misistra*, or *Mistra*; *Mengesche*, or *Napoli di Malvasia*; *Ruja*, or *Castel-Rampano*; *Maina*; *Kalamata*; *Andorossa*, or *Androussa*; *Koron*; *Motun*, or *Modon*; *Avarin*, or *Navarin*; and *Arkadia*.

The first attempts of the Ottomans on the Morea took place in 1432, when Sultan *Morad*

or Amurat II. laid siege to and forced the wall fortified with five bastions, and mounted with cannons which defended the entrance of the isthmus. It was at this period that the city of Corinth was taken and pillaged. The Ottomans, nevertheless, did not then penetrate into the interior of the country. In 1442, Turhanbeg, a Turkish admiral, ravaged the coasts of the Morea, and there took several castles, particularly in Argolis. In 1452, Sultan Mohammed, Emperor of the Ottomans, effected the conquest of the Morea, and reduced it under his dominion, with the exception of Modon, Koron, Navarin, and Napoli di Romania, which remained to the Venetians. These places were not taken till the time of Bajazet, as we shall notice in our description of the Morea.

Peloponesus was formerly divided into seven provinces, viz. Corinthia, Sicyonia, Achaia, Elis, which included the ancient Triphylia, Arcadia, Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia.

Corinthia and Sicyonia comprehended only the modern district of Kordos. Corinth, which is the capital, is now no other than a mean town, or rather an assemblage of several groups of houses, scattered on the northern declivity of Mount Phouka; on a divergent ridge of which is the *Acro-Corinthus*, a citadel guarded by the Turks with the greatest jealousy, and where no stran-



ger is allowed to ascend. \ The port of *Lechcum*, which was that of the Corinthians and situated in the gulf of Corinth, is now no more than the place of a custom-house, situated in a bay where are still to be seen the remains of an ancient pier or landing-place. To the N. of Corinth is Cape Malangara, anciently *Olmia*, forming a species of peninsula and extending from E. to W. At the extremity of the cape is the church of St. Nicholas, which has taken the place of the temple of *Juno Acrea*. On the promontory the village of Perakora or Pera-Chori has succeeded to the ancient *Piræus*. Loutro-Chori, where there are hot mineral springs, corresponds to the ancient *Thermæ*; and Agrilio, on the sea-side, occupies the place of *Oneum*. On the road from Corinth to Thebes, through the mountain, is the village of Miniez, situated on Mount Palee-Vouni; it was formerly called *Isthmus*. The road from Corinth to Megara by the Scyronian rocks, passed by *Schænus* and *Sidus*. The ruins of the first place are still to be seen at the distance of a league to the N. of Kenchri, not far from the shore, and to the W. of port Kalamachi. *Sidus* is now called Soussa-Kevi, and has a small port. *Cenchreæ*, a port of the Corinthians on the gulf of Egina, is still a large village called Kenchri, having two ports, one of which is that of Kenchri where a cus-

tom-house is kept, and the other is port Sultani. The wall which defended the entrance of the isthmus commenced at the gulf of Egina behind a marsh near the ruins of Schœnus, and ended on the gulf of Lepanto, also behind a marsh half way between Loutro-Chori and Corinth. Its whole extent was about 3500 toises. On the side of the gulf of Egina a canal had been commenced, measuring about 300 toises; but it is not known whether this work was undertaken for the purpose of uniting the two seas, or with a view to add to the defence of the wall, the front of which was already covered by a low and wet range of ground. The wall had two gates, one on the margin of the gulf of Lepanto leading to the roads of Pagæ and Thebes through the mountains; and the other to the W. of the ruins of Schœnus opening to the road of Megara through Soussa-Kevi. Soon after the capture of Corinth by Amurat II. the Turkish admiral, Umurbeg, being unable to enter into the gulf of Lepanto through the strait, caused his vessels to be carried over the isthmus, and having appeared unexpectedly in the gulf, he burnt all the vessels that could be found there, and came out through the strait. About a league and half to the E. of Kenchri, we find a small port called Chieries, or Sidero, near to a village in former times called *Solygia*.

On Mount Sophiko or *Ægeas*, is the village of Saphiko, which has taken the place of the ancient *Rhetum*. To the W. of Corinth, on the river of *Nemea*, formerly were *Epiecus* and *Ternea*, situated on the present positions of two villages, one of which is called Kortessa.

*Sicyona* is now called Vasiliko, a small town constructed on an elevation at the entrance of a promontory, to the E. of which was its port known by the ancient name of *Olymnum*. In the province of Sicyonia formerly were known the towns of *Theranda*, *Phlius*, and *Titana*; the first is now called Xila, the second Sti-Phili, ruined by the Albanians in 1770, and in the place of the third is a derwent, situated on the road from Vasiliko to Kalavritta.

The ancient Achaia comprehended the modern districts of Kalavritta, Vostitza, and Patras. The district of Vostitza extends along the sea coast as far as near Vasiliko. This range of coast formerly so flourishing, is now almost in a desert state, and the greatest part of the towns which existed there have been destroyed and no traces whatever are left. Vostitza, capital of the district and occupying the place of the ancient *Ægium*, is a town of but little importance. To the E. of Vostitza is the village of Tripia, formerly *Helice*; and on the road of Kalavritta is Kanti, corresponding to the

ancient *Ceryna*. Krata, situated on the sea-side and at the mouth of the *Crathis*, holds the place of *Ægia*; and the small town of Pernitza is built on the ruins of *Bura*. In the narrow passage of Mount *Cylleno* or *Trikala*, on the margin of a rivulet called the *Styx*, to the S. of Pernitza and the E. of Kalavritta, formerly stood *Nonacris*, now *Naukria*, and situated on the confines of Arcadia. In the place of *Ægira*, some years ago was to be seen the small town of *Xilo-Kastro*, destroyed in 1770, and of which the ruins now only remain. *Pellene* was also situated in this canton, not far from where the village of *Doucha* now stands. *Baliabadra*, *Badradgik* or *Patras*, formerly *Patra* and more anciently *Aroe*, is the principal city of this country. It is a place possessed of a considerable portion of trade and riches, notwithstanding the disasters it experienced in the year 1770. Its port is in reality nothing more than a road, and at all times by no means secure, which frequently obliges the vessels to take refuge in *Zante* and *Cephalonia*. It is defended by a castle situated to the N. which was taken by Sultan Mohammed or Mahomet II. in 1451. Two leagues to N. E. of *Patras* is the strait called the *Dardanelles* of *Lepanto*. At the extremity of the two promontories forming this

strait were built, in the year 1495, the castles which defend the entrance, as we have already had occasion to notice. The village near which the castle of Morea has been constructed was formerly called *Rhium*, and the one on the opposite side *Antirrhium*. These two castles, which have scarcely been repaired since the time of their erection, are in an extremely decayed condition, badly armed, and still worse defended. Between *Rhium* and *Patras*, formerly stood *Mesotis*, modernly called *Sicheno*. To the E. of the castle of *Rhium* is a gulf or port anciently called *Panormus*, now *Drepano*, from the name of the village standing to the E. and which by the ancients was also called *Drepanum*. Between *Drepano* and *Vostitza* are the villages of *Aderna* and *Boulika*, as well as the small town of *Salmeniki*, also ruined in 1770; they were formerly called *Bolina*, *Rhypes*, and *Erineus portus*. To the W. of *Patras* *Achaia* extended as far as *Cape Araxus*, now *Papas*, at the extremity of which stands a tower where the ancient castle of *Tichos* once was. The small town of *Kaminitza* corresponds to the ancient *Olenus*; and *Tritæa*, at the head of the same river on which the former is placed, and originally denominated *Melas*, has retained the name of *Triti*. Between *Kaminitza* and

Cape Papas, on the sea-side, we discover the ruins of *Dyme*; and between Kaminitza and Triti, on the river Melas, those of *Pharæ*.

The ancient Elis contained the modern districts of Hulomidsch or Klemoutzi and part of those of Kalavritta and Phanari, and extended along the sea-coast from Cape Kologrea as far as the river Nedina. The ancient Triphylia, which depended thereon, was to the left of the river Alpheus. Near to a village called Kaloskopi are still to be seen the ruins of *Elis*, which was the capital. Gastouni, the principal town of the district of Hulomidsch, and most probably built on the ruins of *Ephyra*, has most undoubtedly been enlarged out of those of Elis. To the N. of the province of Elis was *Larissa*, of which no traces are now to be distinguished, unless it is the name of the river which flowed below its walls, and still called Rissio. To the S. of Larissa was *Myrtuntum*, placed near the artificial lake of Katoki. To the N. E. of Cape Tornese, formerly *Cheilonites*, and near Cape Klarentza is the village of this name, occupying the place of the ancient *Cyllene*. The small town of Leena to the N. of Gastouni on the Patras road, has succeeded to *Buprasium*. On the margin of the rivulet which falls into the Peneus or Igliako, above Kaloskopi, is found Pylos, which has re-

tained its ancient name. On the sea-side near to Cape Pondiko, formerly *Pheia*, was a town of the same name, situated on the margin of a small lake and near a church at present called Panagia-Staphidia. On the road from Gastouni to Arcadia the village of Mesalongi and the small town of Pyrgo have most probably replaced *Letrini* and *Salmone*. Towards the sources of the *Selleis*, now called the river of Lala, is the small town of this name formerly called *Alesiaum*. This is the chief place of an independent clan, living by plunder: From Pyrgo, one of the roads leading to Kariteni and Tripolitza, ascends the right bank of the *Alpheus*, modernly called the Roufia, and passes through the village of Miraka, near which are the ruins of *Olympia*, surnamed *Pisa*, celebrated for its temple of Jupiter and quadrennial games, the periods of which served to fix the historical annals of Greece. From Miraka the road passed through Phraxio, formerly *Phriza*, to the left of the *Alpheus*; opposite to which, on the right bank, is Dori, occupying the ground of the ancient *Epitalium*. Between Pyrgo and Miraka were also *Heraclea* and *Epine*; two villages whose names are not known now stand in their place. In front of Pyrgo, and on the other side of the *Alpheus*, was *Hypana*, at present known by the name of

Agolinitza. More to the S., on the road of Sinano, are seen the villages of St. Basil and Vervitza, on the borders of a rivulet formerly called *Acheron*; they were anciently called *Typanea* and *Epium*. In returning towards the sea, on the left of the road of Arcadia, and at the head of a rivulet which falls into the fisheries situated on the coast, we find the village of Sidero, occupying the place of the ancient *Scylluns* on the *Chalois*. This was the residence of Xenophon and the place where he composed his excellent works. In front of the guard-house of Kaiapha, on the left of the small lake which receives the waters of the *Anigrus*, now Mavro-Potamo, *Samicum* was formerly situated. This was the port of the city of *Pylus*, the capital of Triphylia and of the states of the wise Nestor, and its ruins are still extant to the E. of Kaiapha. *Lepreum* was situated at the source of the rivulet falling into the sea, near to a han standing between Kaiapha and Dervish-Aga. The latter village has taken the place of *Pyrgi*, the southern frontier of the ancient Elis.

Arcadia, which occupied the centre of Peloponesus, comprehended the modern districts of Kariteni and Londari, together with part of those of Phanari, Kalavritta, and Phirina. Its capital was formerly *Megalopolis*, built by



the Achaian league on the river *Helisson*, falling into the *Alpheus*, but which is now no other than a mean place called *Sinano*. At present the true capital of *Arcadia*, and at the same time of the whole *Sandgiak* of the *Morea*, is *Tripolitza*. This city, containing about 20,000 souls, is that of *Morea* which suffered most in 1770, when more than 3000 men, among whom were all the principal inhabitants, perished there. This city is built at the foot of *Mount Roïno*, at about an hour's distance from the ruins of *Pallantium* towards the N. and the same from those of *Tegea*; the latter are called by the modern inhabitants *Paleo-Episkopi*. At nearly three leagues N. of *Tripolitza* in a place called *Goritza*, and near to a village of the name of *Arni*, are the ruins of *Mantineia*. Midway between *Goritza* to *Tripolitza*, the valley is shut in by two woody hills which form it into a defile; it is at the issue of this defile and at the foot of the hills facing *Mantineia*, that was fought the battle bearing the latter name, and the last triumph of *Epaminondas*, where he met with his death in the bosom of victory. "My country has conquered," said he on that glorious occasion, "I die contented. Time and the barbarity of the *Turks* have destroyed the monument which had been erected to the memory of this hero. To

the S. E. of the ruins of Tegea, on the confines of Laconia, once stood the castle of *Phylace*, which has been succeeded by the village of *Phitea*, situated at the head of a rivulet which loses itself in a gulf in the vicinity of *Asi*, corresponding to the ancient castle of *Asca*. A rivulet descending from Tegea also issues into the same gulf formerly called *Eurotas*, and a third rivulet, meandering from the ruins of *Pallantium*, also throws itself into the above chasm which was, according to the ancients, the fabulous source of the *Alpheus*. To the east of *Gonitza* beyond a defile known by the name of *Kaki-Skala*, is the village of *Agenitzi*, formerly *Melangia*. To the W. of *Tripolitza* on the other side of Mount *Roino*, at about two hours' distance, is a han where the roads of *Sinano*, *Dimitzana*, and *Gardiki*, separate. In this place formerly must have stood *Lycoa*, and further on and mid-way between *Langadia* was *Hekisson*, situated on the river of the same name, which bathed the ancient *Megalopolis*. Between the above han and *Sinano* is a monastery, built on the ruins of *Helos*. The road from *Tripolitza* to *Londari* passes near to the ruins of *Pallantium*, and, after crossing the gulf of the *Alpheus*, proceeds by a village which must have been *Athenæum*. From thence the traveller descends to *Londari*, a small town

built on the right bank of the *Syrus*, in front of the ruins of *Leuctra*. From Londari the road leading into Maino passes through a defile terminated by a derwent or guard-house, near to which are the ruins of *Gathia*.

Londari is itself situated on the road from Mistra to Gastouni. In proceeding along this road and after passing Sinano, we arrive at Paleo-Arkadia, which has taken the place of the ancient *Tocnia*; and from thence we proceed to Kariteni, or the ancient *Gortys*, which small town is built at some distance from the Alpheus, on a declivity ranging on the left bank of the *Gortynius*. Nearly three leagues higher up on the same river was *Paroria*, near Langadia. Below Kariteni on the margin of the Alpheus, the road passes below the village of St. George, anciently *Brenthe*. Nearly in front of St. George, and a league from the Alpheus, is found the small town of Andritzena, which has succeeded to *Trapezus*; and the rivulet flowing to the S. of Andritzena was called the *Achelous*. In nearly a southern direction from the latter town, on the margin of the *Lymæx*, which at a small distance joins the river *Neda*, is Davia, formerly *Phigalia*. The small town of Phanari, situated at the source of the *Neda*, corresponds to the ancient *Lyceura*; and a derwent seen on the road from

Sinano to Androussa has taken the place of *Thisæa*. On the right bank of the Alpheus, no other place than *Aliphera* was known, and this has assumed the modern name of Griveni.

In ascending the banks of the Alpheus, the first place we approach on the Gastouni road, after passing St. George, is Kastri, answering to the ancient *Buphagium*. After Kastri comes Rhavli, which was *Melæna*, indicated in the old Itineraries; and also Iri, formerly *Heræa*. On leaving Rhavli we cross the river *Ladon*, now called Roufia, as well also as is the Alpheus. This river rising out of Mount Ligyrgus, which separates it from the marsh of *Orchomenon*, first passes by Tripotami, anciently *Haluns*; and a little to the S. E. of this place was *Thisoa*, now Kalata. The *Ladon*, before joining the Alpheus, passed by the walls of *Thelphussa*, which has retained its ancient name. This village situated at three leagues distance to the N. E. of Rhavli, stands on the road from Tripolitza to Dimitzana. After crossing the *Ladon*, and before arriving at Iri, we pass over the river *Erymanthus*, now also called Roufia. At about four leagues distance to the N. of Iri, is the small town of Dimitzana, built on the left bank of the *Erymanthus* opposite to the ruins of *Psophis*, situated at the confluence of the *Erymanthus* and the *Aroanus*, which latter has

likewise assumed the new appellation of Rousia. At the distance of a league and half to the S. of Dimitzana is Jakova, built on the ruins of *Trophæa*. On the left of the Erymanthus, which takes the name of Dimitzana; and in front of the ruins of Psophis is Zâtoun, on the ancient Pholoe. Towards the sources of the same river once stood *Thalama*, now Tertzena. To the N. E. of the latter, on Mount Xiria or Erymanthus, is the town of Kalavritta, on the road from Patras to Tripolitza. It has taken the place of the ancient Cynethæ. Nezero situated between Kalavritta and Triti, occupies the ground of *Lampe*. On the river Aroanus, three leagues above Dimitzana, is Gardiki, built on the ruins of the ancient *Clitor*. To the E. of Gardiki is Pyrgos, formerly *Lycoa*. The Aroanus takes its source in a marsh near Phonia, which has succeeded to *Pheneos*. To the S. W. of Phonia and on the borders of the above marsh was *Lycuria*, which has preserved its ancient name; and to the N. of the two latter places, on Mount Aroanus, was *Nonacris*, modernly called Naucria.

The rivulet which rises near Naucria, and at a short distance falls into the Crathis, was called Styx. To the E. of the marsh of Pheneos was lake *Stymphalus*, celebrated in the history of Hercules; this lake and the town of the same

name are now called Zaraka. Between this lake and Phonia is Menitzi, formerly *Amitos*. To the N. of Stymphalus was *Cyllene*, now Trikala; and, to the S. of Zaraka, the small town of Gumnos has succeeded to *Alca*. To the S. of the marsh of Phonia was the ancient lake or marsh of *Orchomenus*; and the ruins of the town of this name are still to be seen above the lake towards the E. The rivulet issuing from the lake flows towards the W., and loses itself at the distance of two leagues under a mountain, on the other side of which appears the source of the Ladon which takes its course towards Tripotami. On this mountain are the ruins of *Nasos*. Between these ruins and the marsh of Phonia was the ancient *Caphya*, and a field of battle celebrated in the history of Peloponesus. Between lake Orchomenus and Kariteni, on the road from Tripolitza to Gardiki, is Mettaga, at the confluence of two rivers which lose themselves two leagues lower down in a chasm. This place corresponds to the ancient *Methydrium*, and the river, which is to the E. of the village, was formerly called *Mylaeon*, and the other, *Malatas*.

The ancient Argolis comprehended the districts of Argos and Napoli di Romania, and extended along the sea on the eastern sides of Mount *Artemisius* and Mount *Parthenius*, as

far as near Stilo; and, ascending towards Corinth, embraced the peninsula washed by the gulf of Egina. Along the gulf of Napoli, the southern frontier of the ancient Argolis, was *Thyræa*, situated on the elevation which commands Stilo; and a little above is Astro, formerly *Genusium*. At the foot of Mount Partheni formerly were *Athenæ* and *Ena*, now Paleo-Chori and Paleo-Kastro. The road from Tripolitza to Lerna, on leaving the village of Steno, enters into the defile called Strata-Halil-beg, and after descending Mount Partheni, by a stair-case dug in the rock, and anciently called *Trochos*, arrives at Aglakambos, formerly *Cenchreæ*. In descending towards the sea, in ancient times was seen *Hysia*, now Kalighi; and on the sea-shore are found several mills forming the village of Milos. Here stood the ancient *Amymone*, and the marsh which is not far distant was the abode of the Hydra, overcome by Hercules. In going from Tripolitza to Argos, the traveller first passed through Arni, whence issues two roads, one of which went through Agenitzi, as we have before noticed; and the other ascended towards the N., and crossed the rivulet of Voulsi, formerly *Argus*, and arrived at Enoa, anciently *Ænoe*. To the N. of Enoa at the head of the *Erasinus*, or the modern Erasino, was *Lyrcis*

now Lourkaki ; and to the E. of the latter village are the sources of the *Inachus*, or the Planitza.

On the latter, a league from the sea, is the present small town of Argos, the remains of the ancient city of that name. Two leagues and half to the N., and near the confluence of the Cephissus and the Asterion, is the hamlet of Karvathi ; and half a league to the E., near to a gulf in which the two latter rivers lose themselves, are the ruins of *Mycenæ*. These sad remains of two cities which revive the memory of Agamemnon, Clitemnestra, Helen, and Orestus, the bloody quarrel of Atreus and Thyestus, and the misfortunes of the Atrides, whilst they excite the liveliest interest, cast a deep gloom on the mind of the modern traveller. Near a lagoon, or sheet of water, formed by the common mouth of the Erasino and Planitza, formerly was *Temenum*, the port of Argos. To the S. E. of the mouth of the two last rivers, on a promontory projecting into the sea and forming a sizeable harbour, is Anaboli, or Napoli di Romania, anciently *Nauplia*. This city, extremely commercial, is built on the southern side of the port, along the whole length of the promontory. In the middle is a steep rock, on which stands the fortress of Palamida ; and between the point of the promontory and the coast is an island, once fortified, which closes the harbour. This



place, the last possessed by the Venetians in the Morea, was then extremely strong, but its fortifications are now in a decayed state. It was taken by Bajazet in 1495. At the bottom of the port of Napoli, under the name of *Paleo-Anapli*, are still to be seen the ruins of the ancient *Tirynthis*; and *Lycimna* was built where the church of *Hagia-mom* now stands. To the N. of Napoli is *Metzo*, formerly *Midea*. To the W. of *Karvathi*, on the declivity of Mount *Polyspergas*, or *Apesas*, is a church called *Agoriani*; it was here that *Lyrchia* formerly existed. The small town of *Klegna*, between *Karvathi* and *Corinth*, has taken the place of the ancient *Cleonæ*; and *Tretum*, on a small river which lost itself near *Mycenæ*, is now *Berballi*. To the W. of *Klegna* was the small town of *Nemea*, near to the forest that gave shelter to the lion whose skin was worn by *Hercules*: it is now called *St. George*. The ruins of the temple are near a place called the *Columns*, from the number existing there, in the neighbourhood of a dervent situated between *Nemea* and *Klegna*. Near to *St. George* is the village of *Petri*, where *Orneæ* originally stood.

On the coast of the gulf of *Egina*, after *Rhetum*, in *Corinthia*, was the port of *Bucephalum*, now *Porto Franco*. Beyond Cape *Spiræum* was the port of the Athenians, now called



Madona. Lower down was *Epidaurus*, celebrated for the temple of Esculapius; and the ruins are still to be seen on a promontory at the entrance of the port, at the bottom of which is the village of Pidavro. To the W. of Epidaurus was *Therias*, now Jero, a small town ruined in 1770; and further on towards Argos was *Lessa*, to which Perivolia has succeeded. Near Port Pronali is the village and fort of Phanari, once most probably *Thermæ*. The small town of Damala, situated on the torrent called *Chrysorrhœos*, is the ancient *Træzen*, the abode of Theseus, and the theatre of the loves of Phædra; and in coming from Epidaurus we follow the same rocks on which Hippolitus perished. To the N. of Damala is Methana, formerly called *Methone*; and at no great distance is the island of Egina, and that of Angistri, anciently *Belbina*. Near Cape Skillo, formerly *Scyllæum*, are ruins, now called Paleo-Chori, which correspond to the ancient *Celenderis*. Between these ruins and Damala is the island of Poro, formerly *Hieria*. Between Cape Skillo and Cape Porpoises, near the village of Kastri, are the ruins of *Hermione*, situated on a promontory; and opposite to the latter are the islands of Hydron and Hydra, formerly *Hydreon* and *Aristera*. Between Hermione and Cape Skillo is found *Thermis*, formerly *Acra*; and towards Hermione is Alikì,

known by the ancient name of *Halice*. To the S. of Cape Porpoises is the island of Spetzia, once *Tiparenius*; and in front of this island, near Port Bisati, are the ruins of *Maseæ*. To the E. of Cape *Struthuntum*, or Koraka, is seen the village of Kranidi, formerly *Coronis*. Between Kastri and Damala was *Ilei*, which has retained its original name, as well as Didymi, to the N. W. of Kranidi. Vourlea and Fournas were designated by the ancient names of *Bolis* and *Asine*. Drepani has taken the place of *Phlius*; and Acidari, at the bottom of Port Tolon, answers to the ancient *Proscymna*.

The ancient Laconia comprehended the modern districts of Aja-Petri, Misistra, Malvasia, Ruja, and Maino. This province did not formerly extend on the gulf of Koron further than Mandiniaï, but at present Maino reaches as far as Pirnaza, and takes in half of Messenia. To the N. of Laconia, on the gulf of Napoli, was *Prasie*, seated on the sea-side, at the foot of the hill on which is now built the small town of Prasto. In proceeding down the coast, at the bottom of the Port Delle-Botte, and near the modern small town of Eriches, is Kyphanto, corresponding to the ancient *Cyphanta*; and a little to the S. was *Zarea*, now Kara. The ruins of *Epidaurus Limera* are to the N. of the port of St. Paul, formerly called *Dios Soteros*. It is

in the island of *Minoa* that Mengesche, or Monemvasia, has been built, known also by the name of Napoli di Malvasia. This town, although small, is rich and commercial, and one of the principal emporiums of the trade of the Levant and Candia; as well because of its situation as the goodness of its port. Here is produced the wine known by the name of Malmsey.

*Epi Delium*, to the S. of Monemvasia, is now called Agio-Lindi. To the W. of Cape *Malea*, or St. Angelo, was Port *Nymphæum*, still called Nymphiko. At the bottom of the bay of Vatikò, at the foot of the village of this name, are the ruins of *Bæa*; and to the W. of the bay stands the island of Servi, formerly *Onu-gnatos*. *Asopus* is now called Esapo, and *Cyparissia* corresponds to the modern Castel Rampano, called by the Turks Ruja. In ascending towards the mouth of the Eurotas, or Vasili-Potamo, we find Prigniko, Sapiko, Tzili, or Elo, and the small town of Kolochina, which formerly were *Leucæ*, *Acriæ*, *Helos*, and *Asine*. At a small distance inland formerly stood *Pleia*, now Palea; and to the right of the mouth of the Eurotas was *Trinasus*, which has nearly preserved its original name, and is called Trinisia. Marathonisi answers to the ancient *Mygonium*. The island of Marathonisi was formerly called *Cranea*; and in front of this island, in the vicinity of Trinisi,

are the ruins of *Gythium*, the military port of the Lacedemonians.

The ruins of *Teuthrone* are to the S. of Vathy, which has taken the place of *Hypsus*; and the temple of *Dyctinna* is now a church dedicated to the Virgin. To the N. W. of Vathy, on a declivity of Mount Taygetus, is Passavo, corresponding to the ancient *Las*. Kolokythia, seated at the bottom of Port Kalio, was once known by the name of *Pyrrhicus*. Psamathus, or Psamatos, near Cape *Tenarium*, or Matapan, has not changed its name. Between Cape Matapan and Cape Grosso was *Tenarium*, or *Cenopolis*, now called Komares. To the N. of Cape Grosso, Maina, which has given its name to the district, has taken the place of *Massa*; and Mesapiotis, above Maina, was anciently styled *Thyrides*. The other towns of Laconia seated on the gulf of Koron were *Ætylos*, *Thalamæ*, and *Leuctrum*; at present the two first are called Vitylo and Prasta, and the ruins of the latter are seen near Mandiniai. *Pephnos* was situated near the island of Pekno, between Prasta and Mandiniai. Above the mouth of the Eurotas, called by the modern Greeks Vasilipotamo, and by the Turks Isharpo, or Aksou, were *Carnium*, now Koumastra, and, towards Monemvasia, *Geronthraæ*, which retains its old name. On the right bank of the same river is Petrini, formerly *Croæa*. Between Petrini and

Mistra the villages of Phivika and Soka have taken the place of *Briseæ* and *Pharis*. The small town of Vordonia is built on the ruins of the ancient *Therapne*.

Mistra, or Misistra, is to the S. W. and at half a league's distance from the ruins of Sparta. This town, which is the capital of one of the Sandgiaks of the Morea, is only governed by a Bey, whom the Mainots, instead of obeying, frequently drive away from the seat of his government. Around Sparta formerly were *Amyclæ* and *Pitane*, now Sklavo-Chori and Evreo-Kastro. On the road from Mistra to Monemvasia we find Marios, which formerly bore the same name, and St. Paul, which must correspond to the situation of the ancient *Glympos*. In coming from Londari to Mistra, after passing a defile which leads to the source of the Eurotas, formerly was seen *Belemina*, modernly called St. Basil, and from thence the traveller arrived at *Pellana*, which has been succeeded by *Perivolia*. Before arriving at Sparta the road led below *Characome*, now called Tripi. In coming from Tripolitza, and after passing through Phitea and Korca, we enter into a defile which bore the name of the *Hermæum* of Laconia. On issuing from this defile we find Karvathy, or the ancient *Caria*. As we continue to descend we arrive at the confluence of the *Gorgytus*

and the *Ænus*, now the Chelefina, where are seen two villages, one of which must have been the ancient *Sellasia*, one of the fields of battle renowned in the history of Peloponnesus.

The ancient Messenia comprehended the modern districts of Koron, Modon, Navarin, Arcadia, Androussa, and Kalamata. This province was, nevertheless, much smaller than Arcadia and Laconia; but the three first districts, which include the last conquests of the Ottomans in the Morea, are reduced to a very small compass round these towns. Immediately after passing Mandiniiai, along the gulf of Messenia, or of Koron, we find Platza, formerly *Abea*; and afterwards Kardamyla, which retains its original name. *Pharæ* has been replaced by Kiriiai, a village built near a confined port, which is the trading place of Dolous, a small town standing on the ground of *Gerenia*. Above Dolous was the castle of *Alagonia*, now named Zarnato, and the residence of the Bishop of Maino. On the sea-side, at the mouth of the river Apsaria, formerly the *Aris*, and opposite to the village of Armiro, we find ruins which bear the name of Paleo-Chora, and belong to the ancient *Thuria*. Here ends the canton of Maino, in which the places we have just noticed are contained.

To the N. W. of Armiro is the town of Kalamata, and the capital of a district. Its port, which was formerly called *Limnæ*, is to the S. Near the mouth of the Pirnatza, formerly the *Pamissus*, and on its right bank, is the small town of Nisi, which has taken the place of *Stenyclarus*, the port of the Messenians. Below the latter was *Andania*, corresponding to the modern Androussa, a small town, whose jurisdiction extends as far as beyond Koron. To the N. of Androussa, at the distance of two short leagues, is the village of Mavromathia, seated on the western declivity of Mount Vulkanos, formerly *Ithome*. This village is built on the ruins of Messena, celebrated for its long wars against the Lacedemonians, and for the memory of Aristomenes and Aristodemus, as well as its destruction, and the dispersion of its brave inhabitants. Messena, rebuilt at a later period, joined the Achaian league, and contributed to the depression of her proud rival. Between Mavromathia and Androussa, on the banks of the Pamissus, is the village of Anaziri, formerly *Æchalia*. At the distance of half a league from the latter we cross the Pamissus on a bridge, notwithstanding its source is not more than a league from thence towards the E., and afterwards ascend to the village of Lezi, which



has taken the place of the ancient *Olurus*. After *Lezi*, continuing to ascend Mount *Mintha*, or *Lycæus*, we arrive at a village situated near a dervent; this was the ancient *Hermæum* of Mount *Lycæus*. To the S. E. of *Lezi*, a league from the latter village, and the same distance from the ruins of *Gathie*, is the village of *Chastemi*, anciently *Amphica*. Returning towards the sea, to the W. of *Androussa*, and towards the sources of the *Samari*, formerly the *Bathyra*, we meet with the village of *Dzori*, occupying the place of *Dorium*. To the S. of the mouth of the *Samari* is the port of *Petalidi*, below a river anciently called *Bais*. A little to the W., on the declivity of the mountain near the village of *Baliada*, are the ruins of *Ino*. The town of *Koron* stands on the ground of the ancient *Corone*. The spring called of the Plane-tree, is the source of a river which begins to flow near *Vounaria*, and loses itself in the sea at *Stratcha*; and an aqueduct, commencing near *Stratcha*, conveys its waters to *Koron*. This town, extremely commercial though small, is defended by two forts situated on a promontory, and to the W. of them the town is built. The port is not large, it is rather a species of road, the entrance of which is not easy, owing to the shoals extending into the sea to the dis-

tance of a mile from the point. After Bajazet had taken Modon, in 1495, he caused Koron to be besieged by land by his Vizir, Ali Pacha, and by sea by his Admiral, Daud Pacha, and the place capitulated. In 1497 the Venetians, with the aid of France, attempted to retake it, when their fleet was defeated; but in 1527 they besieged and retook it. In 1530, Mahomed Bey, Sandgiak of the Morea, blockaded Koron; and having defeated a flotilla of eight vessels which attempted to succour the garrison with provisions, the town surrendered the eighteenth day of the Rhamasan.

Between Koron and Cape Gallo, or *Acritas*, near the village of Stratcha, are the ruins of *Colonis*. The island standing to the S. of the cape, called the island of Venetiko, was originally named *Theganusa*; and the port which opens to the N. W. of the same cape corresponds to the ancient *Phenicius Portus*. In the bottom of the bay of Modon, and at the foot of Mount *Fematheu*, was the town of *Asine*, to which the village of Griso has succeeded. To the W. of the latter, and to the right of the mouth of the River Siloso, formerly *Sela*, is Modon, corresponding to the ancient *Methone*. This fortress is built on a small point projecting into the sea, and the village is towards the

N. E., at the bottom of the port, which is not very capacious. Opposite to Modon is the island of Sapienza, and a little to the S. E. another, called Kabrera: these two islands formerly bore the name of *Ænusa*. After Bajazet had taken Lepanto, in 1495, he proceeded to besiege Modon by land, whilst his Admiral, Jakub Pacha, pressed it by sea. One of the galleys which blew up in the port having created considerable injury and disorder among the Venetian garrison, Bajazet availed himself of this opportunity, and ordered a general assault, when the place was taken and burnt, the 14th of the month of Moharrem. The author of the Chronology of the Ottoman Empire observes that Modon and Corfu were the two keys of the Ionian sea. After the capture of the first, the Turks caused a fort to be constructed on the point of Sapienza, to defend the passage of the channel; but it has since been destroyed.

To the N. of Modon is the port, or rather the road, of Navarin. This road, which is 6000 toises long, and 4000 in its widest part, is both secure and commodious; anchorage is even to be found in 40 fathoms water, and not under eight in the northern part. In the centre is an uninhabited island; and the island of Sphagia, formerly *Sphacteria*, or *Sphagia*, closes the en-

trance. To the N. of this island is a narrow and difficult pass, formerly defended by a fort built on the island. To the S., where the new fort is now situated, are two passes: the one for small vessels is between Sphagia and the rock called Pylos; and the other, which is the main pass, is between Pylos and the continent. On the point of the main land is New Navarin, a fortress built on the sea-side, near to a small town which has taken the place of the ancient *Coryphasium*. The port and custom-house are situated to the N. of the town; and at the other extremity of the road is Old Navarin, or Zonchio, built on the side of the ruins of *Pylos* of Messenia.

Navarin was taken by the Turks in the same year as Modon, and the Venetians soon afterwards re-conquered it; but having been attacked by land by Ali Pacha, Bajazet's Vizir, and by sea by Kemal Reis, after losing a battle before the place, the Venetians again lost it altogether. To the N. of Old Navarin is the small town of Gargagliano, which has taken the place of the ancient *Erana*; and farther on towards Arcadia is Pasenza, formerly *Platamodes*. Nearly opposite to Gargagliano, and near to the coast, is the island of Prodano, formerly *Prote*, which forms a small bay, tolerably secure. After

passing Cape *Cyparissus*, or Konello, we arrive at Arcadia, formerly *Cyparissa*, a town built on an elevation commanding a small port, which is now a retreat for pirates. The last towns of ancient Messenia were *Aulon*, on the Neda, and *Electra*, to the S. E. of Arcadia ; the one is still called Avlon, and the other Vrissi.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Origin of Ali Pacha.—Character of his Mother.*

*—His Education.—First Events of his Life.—*

*An extraordinary Occurrence places him in the Road to Fortune.—He becomes Chief of Tepeleni.—Death of his Brother.—He becomes a*

*Robber.—He obtains the Protection of Kourd Pacha, marries, and his Fortune commences.—*

*Serves in the Army of the Grand Vizir; enters into Relations with Russia; obtains the Pacha-*

*lie of Trikala; seizes on Joannina; becomes a Dervendgi-Pacha; negotiates with France;*

*extends his Conquests; enters into Correspondence with Buonaparte; breaks with France;*

*seizes on the Venetian Towns, and fails before Corfu; is made Roumeli-Valachi; his Exac-*

*tions; treats with France; makes War on Russia; sends an Agent to Napoleon; fails in*

*his Views at Tilsit; and addresses himself to England.*

**F**ROM the description of the governments and extent of country now dependent on Ali Pacha, which we have just given, it is easy to see that he is at present the most powerful European

ruler of the Ottoman empire. The provinces of which he disposes, and which with reason may be called his states, or dominions, constitute a good third of all Turkey; and the offices of Dervendgi-Pacha and Roumeli-Valachi, which he has already held, and can again obtain whenever he chooses, through the means of his arts and intrigues, would still leave at his disposal another third of this extended empire. He is not, nevertheless, the titular chief of all the Sandgiaks, or Pachalics with three tails, otherwise called Vizirships, which we have just enumerated. The governments of which he holds the *Firman*, or imperial diploma, are, 1st, The Vizirship of Joannina, to which he has since added several districts, wrested from those of Delvino and Avlona. 2d, The Sandgiak of Avlona, reduced to the sole district of this city, and which is governed in his name by a pacha dependent on him. 3d, The Vizirship of Ochrida, excepting the cantons of Mat, Ischim, and Akhissar, which are placed under the dominion of the Pacha of Scutari, and that of Kolonia, dependent on the Vizir of Elbassan, who resides at Berat. 4th, The Vizirship of Karli-Ili, whose Vizir formerly resided at Arta. 5th, The Vizirship of Trikala, with the exception of Larissa, whose Beys, in great measure, hold themselves in a state of independence,

The districts dependent on the Sandgiak of Kapuden-Pacha, which he before governed in a direct manner in his quality of Roumeli-Valachi, have now Beys, who obey and hold their authority from him. The Vizir of Egribos is reduced to the three jurisdictions of the island of Eubœa; and those of the main-land are governed by Pachas or Beys, whom he causes to be named or names, and they all are subservient to his orders. The Vizirship of Lepanto has been bestowed on Mouktar Pacha, his eldest son; and that of the Morea is administered by Veli Pacha, his second son. The Vizirship of Delvino, of which at length he divested Mustapha Pacha, has also been granted to Sally Bey, his third son, scarcely passed his infancy, and the only child born in his harem that he has legitimatized. It is impossible, as we shall hereafter show, for his sons to withdraw themselves from his direct authority: it would be the forfeit of his life to any one of the governors depending on him who should dare to disobey him. In all the above provinces he disposes, at his own pleasure, of the civil and judiciary administration, as well as of the finances and military forces. It therefore may be said that he really reigns as a sovereign, though in appearance a vassal of the Ottoman empire, to whom he pays his tribute with exactitude, and whose orders he obeys



when they are combined with his own agents, or answer his views.

The small town of Tepeleni, of which Ali Pacha's ancestors were Beys, that is, lords, is inhabited by Greeks and Albanian Mussulmans, of the tribe of the Toczides. The family of Ali had always furnished the chiefs of this band of ferocious but courageous mountaineers. War with their neighbours and pillage were their only occupations. The family of Ali Pacha had lived in obscurity since the time of Scanderbeg, under whose government it was most probably Christian, as well as a great number of other Albanian families, which at the time of the conquest of their country by the Ottomans embraced Islamism, in order to preserve their property. The grandfather of Ali, one of the Turkish generals employed at the siege of Corfu, was killed there; and he is the first of this family whose name occurs in the chronology of the Ottoman empire. His father, Veli, had been Sandgiak of Delvino, but having fallen under the displeasure of the Porte, he had been deprived of his office, and replaced by Selim Bey, on whom Ali avenged himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice. Veli Bey, persecuted by the Divan, was also attacked by his neighbours, who were the Beys of Kaminitza, Klissoura, Premiti, and Argiro-Kastro. Too weak to resist them

alone, notwithstanding a most courageous defence, he was under the necessity of yielding; and having been despoiled of the greatest part of his inheritance, he died of fatigue and a broken heart, leaving several young children, among which were two sons, one of whom was Ali. This occurrence happened about the year 1760, when Ali was thirteen years old.

The widow of Veli Bey was a woman whose courage was only equalled by her ambition. No enterprise appeared impossible to her; no means whatever were too much to attain her end. Successful policy, and the most impenetrable dissimulation, blended with cruelty, constituted the leading traits of her character. Far from bending under or seeking to avoid the misfortunes which bore down her family, by flying with her children and the remainder of her treasures, she boldly withstood the ills of fortune, and opposed the torrent which widely threatened her with impending destruction. No other than her faithful Toczides now remained, whom nothing had been able to estrange or sever from the family of their chiefs, and whose blind obedience had prepared them for every sacrifice that might contribute to its defence. With a handful of followers Veli's widow defended the remainder of her dominions, checked her enemies, administered the small portion of property that still re-

mained to her, saved her children from the efforts of violence and the attempts of treason, at the same time that she schooled them in the arts of dissimulation and revenge. It was about this time that she was taken prisoner by the inhabitants of Goritza, when her ransom absorbed the greatest part of the treasures she had been able to save.

Her lessons and example had their due effect on her children, but more so on the mind of Ali than his brother. In policy, Ali soon became equal, if not superior, to his mother. Nature had bestowed on him all those qualities which afterwards enabled him to create a formidable power and preserve it; and the energies of his mind were distinguished by a most early display. At the age when the bulk of mankind scarcely begin to think, he already foresaw the possibility of laying the foundation of his own tranquillity, and raising his power on the depression of his neighbours. He had already seized and combined the means of commanding his equals and reducing his inferiors to slavery.

Scarcely had Ali attained his sixteenth year when he was seen defending the inheritance of his father by the force of arms. He was not, however, the chief; his mother still governed, and, under her orders, two old servants com-

manded, possessed both of fidelity and experience. Her son was still no other than a subaltern in the ranks. His courage, which was always calm and intrepid, caused him to be beloved by his mother's soldiers; whilst his address in flattery, and the apparent sweetness of his character, gained him the regard of the principal vassals or servants of his house. His avidity to discover all kinds of useful knowledge found encouragement among them; and he soon informed himself, in the greatest detail, of the strength, character, and connections of his enemies. He studied and learnt all the circumstances of the history of his own family, as well as that of the glorious acts of his fellow-countrymen. This study afterwards proved to him of the greatest utility; it contributed to cultivate and perfect the prodigious memory with which he had been gifted, and served to him as an infallible guide in all his political difficulties. He has always continued this same species of study, and even now he relates the principal facts and events which have taken place in all the provinces under his control, and quotes the dates without the smallest hesitation.

Such were his youthful occupations, and such the limits to which his command was at first confined. The old servants of his father loved

and esteemed him, but his too great youth at that time removed all idea of obedience, and withheld all confidence in his talents. Burning, nevertheless, with a desire to break through the trammels of dependence, so little congenial to his restless character, and anxious at the same time to raise himself from an inferiority opposed to his pride, he was not long before he unbo-somed himself to his mother, and confided to her part of his designs, as well as the deep and daring project he had formed of dividing his enemies, and defeating them in detail. The widow of Veli Bey could not fail being enchanted with the progress her lessons and exhortations had made in the heart of her son. Her means were, however, reduced greatly beneath what they were at the death of her husband. A continued struggle, the success of which had been varied, and whose happiest result was merely to enable her to sustain herself, had exhausted her resources and cut off part of her warriors. She hesitated to give up the command, and feared to weaken her forces by dividing them with Ali, for the purpose of rushing into an enterprise that did not appear so certain in her eyes as those of her son, and in which one misfortune could not fail to bring total ruin. She did not disapprove of the plan, nor discou-

raged the first sallies of an enterprising and fearless mind, but certain it is she furnished him with no means.

Ali was in no way disheartened ; and, perhaps believing himself possessed of more credit than he really had, he abandoned the castle of Tepeleni with a small number of devoted followers, and took the field. In his first expeditions he evinced all the courage and skill of which he was capable, and of which he gave such striking proofs after his first efforts had failed in their success. The savage hordes he led on to daring deeds were, through their ignorance, too far behind him to be able to conceive the wisdom of his plans and measure the depth of his designs. Accustomed to a mechanical method, and to a reliance on no other than the force of arms, or at most on some local stratagems, they still doubted the effects of the promises of their young chief. Among the Albanians, as well as among all other uncivilized nations, age and practical experience overcome every other consideration, and genius itself, which so advantageously makes up for both, is devoid of credit. Ali experienced the fatal effects of this ignorance, and of the prejudices to which it gives rise. He was able to assemble only a small number of troops, not having sufficient money to pay more, since he could alone offer to his

soldiers hopes which were founded on a basis it was impossible for them to comprehend. He nevertheless attempted expeditions against the enemies of his house. His forces were, however, too disproportioned, and he was several times beaten. Having commenced military operations against the Sandgiak of Avlona, he was taken prisoner in an unfortunate attack. The Vizir, Kourid Pacha, was an old man, of a mild and easy character, and also humane and generous. The youthful air of Ali Bey, the beauty and sweetness of his phisiognomy, his lively and natural talents, so superior to his age, and still more so to the generality of his countrymen, created an interest in the Sandgiak. He was satisfied with reprimanding him, and sent him away.

Ali was then obliged to enter again under the guardianship of his mother, who reproached him in bitter terms, and even treated him in a harsh manner. Habituated to dissimulation, he bore all in silence; but the indefatigable perseverance which constitutes one of the leading features of his character, and causes him always to resume the execution of an uninterrupted project as soon as a favourable opportunity offers, restrained him in this first trial of his mind. He attached himself still more to the soldiers of his mother, as well as to their chiefs: he gave them

an account of his operations, and endeavoured to make them taste and approve his future designs. Wishing no longer to depend on his mother, it was not so much in her eyes that he sought his justification, but rather among the ancient servants of his father, whom he was anxious to bind to his future interests. He did not forget this necessary precaution, in order to counteract the discredit which accompanies unsuccessful genius in the eyes of the vulgar. He did not, however, entirely withdraw from his mother; on the contrary, he renewed his solicitations and remonstrances before her. His suit was long disregarded; at length, however, he obtained a supply of money: whether it was that she wished to rid herself of his importunities, or rather, being herself gifted with a great share of perspicacity, she accorded a certain degree of approbation to his projects. Ali again levied troops, and entered into a fresh campaign.

Fortune, which, beyond doubt, wished to put him to the trial before she bestowed her favours, and sought to strengthen that perseverance which is superior to the greatest misfortunes, and could alone lead him to the attainment of his object, was a second time adverse to him. Compelled to collect money in order to unite the troops he required for success, he now undertook



the pursuits of a robber. This was the kind of life pursued by such characters as Gerio, Cacus, Scyron, and Procrustes, destroyed by Hercules and Theseus; it was also the habitual occupation of the inhabitants of Mount Tomarus, as well as of the Pindus and Lacmus, among whom the name of Klephtes, (Κλεφτής), or robber, is no dishonour. In this new calling Ali was not fortunate. After some success gained near Tepeleni he directed his steps towards the chain of the Pindus, but he was defeated there and taken prisoner by the Vizir of Joannina. The character of the chief of Avlona saved him the first time; the policy of that of Joannina saved him the second. The Beys of Joannina, of Argiro-Kastro, and Premeti, as well as Selim, Pacha of Delvino, insisted on capital punishment being inflicted upon him. The Vizir, however, of Joannina dreaded the Beys of the very section over which he himself presided, at all times ripe for a revolt; and he could not confide in those of Argiro-Kastro and Premeti, and much less in Selim, Pacha of Delvino, whose connections with the Venetians rendered him extremely liable to suspicion. He was not sorry to have it in his power to afford them fresh occupation, and he released Ali, who gave him no further cause for inquietude during the remainder of his days. Ali, nevertheless, having collected the remains of his

scattered troops, again sought to keep the field. He was beaten afresh near the sources of the Chelydnus, and his soldiers in such manner killed or dispersed, that he was obliged to seek refuge alone on Mount Mertzika. There he found himself reduced to such extreme want as to be under the necessity of pledging his scymitar, all he had been able to save, in order to procure barley for his horse, no longer able to carry him.

On returning to Tepeleni with a small number of confidential followers, who rejoined him after his flight, he was again treated by his mother in a harsher manner than before. She not only complained loudly of the repeated disasters, and the exaggeration of his projects, so much above his strength and age, but she also reproached him with imprudence and cowardice, and went so far as to threaten to make him assume a woman's dress, and employ him in the internal occupations of the harem. Ali dissembled his indignation, and was thereby rendered more ardent in his wishes to withdraw from a yoke which pressed heavily upon him. He employed all the resources of his mind to soften his mother, and sought by all imaginable means to justify his conduct in her eyes, and to render her again favourable to his views. At length he succeeded; and, through the force of solicitations, obtained

a sum of money, accompanied with an admonition not to expect any other aid, as well as an injunction to conquer or die, and not again appear as a fugitive amidst the tombs of his ancestors and countrymen.

Ali immediately raised six hundred men with the money his mother had supplied, and directed his march through the Chelydnus valley towards Mount Mertzika and Premiti. His first battle was again unsuccessful to him, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Having encamped the remnant of his troops in the vicinity of a deserted chapel, not far from Valera, which was shown to the Author during his abode in Albania, he entered into the solitary pile to repose, as well as to meditate on his bereft situation. There, says he, (for it was from himself that the whole of this narrative was obtained,) reflecting on that fortune by which he was persecuted, calculating the enterprizes he was still able to attempt, and comparing the weakness of his means with the forces he had to combat, he remained a long time in a standing posture, mechanically furrowing up the ground with his stick, which the violence of the sensations he experienced caused him to press forwards in a stronger manner, and frequently to strike with great force. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound which issued from it, recalled his

attention from the objects with which he had been so long absorbed. He bent down and examined the hole he had made, and having dug further into the ground, he had the happiness to find a casket, concealed, no doubt, during one of the revolutions which have so frequently desolated that country. The gold which the casket contained enabled him to levy 2000 men; and having been successful in a second battle, he returned victorious to Tepeleni. From this period fortune has never abandoned him during a lapse of near fifty years of war and enterprize of every kind.

His new fortune, the victorious troops he led back with him, his constancy, and even his past misfortunes, excited an interest in his favour. He had the address to gain over the principal chiefs of Tepeleni, and the multitude followed the impulse of their leaders. He instantly threw off the mask, seized on the authority, and confined his mother to the harem. It was about this period that his brother perished. The partisans of Ali Pacha assert that this brother was the elder, by a previous marriage, and that Ali's mother caused him to be poisoned, in order to secure to her own son the remains of his father's inheritance, and free him from a dangerous rival. This report is, at least, most prevalent throughout the whole of his states.

His enemies, on the contrary, affirm that it was he himself who stabbed his brother, having persuaded the multitude that he was treacherous to his country, and under a correspondence with their enemies. It is thus also that the story is related in the Seven Islands. Let this be as it may, the death of this competitor was a fresh step towards the elevation of Ali Pacha. It must not, however, be understood that it is the intention of the Author to justify him on this head. Notwithstanding a brilliant throne has too frequently caused the cotemporary generation even to forget the crime of a parricide, the Author is of opinion that the suspicion which hangs over Ali Pacha, of having been capable of a fratricidal act, is an indelible stain imprinted on his memory. After the death of her son, or son-in-law, the political career of the widow of Veli Bey was at an end, and she did not afterwards appear on the scene.

Become sole master in his small dominion, Ali thought of nothing else than extending its limits; but for this purpose he required troops, and to have a sufficient body he stood in need of more money than his coffers contained. His means scarcely enabled him to keep up an army of 2000 men, and even this he would not have been able to continue long. With so weak a force he would indeed have been able to over-

come one of his enemies, but not the league which would have been formed against him. He therefore resolved to continue his trade of robber, and besieged with his troops the whole of the defiles leading from the summits of the Pindus chain into Thessaly, the Epirus, and Macedonia, pillaging and ransoming travellers and caravans, levying contributions on the villages, and sacking several defenceless towns of minor import. The ravages he committed awakened the attention of the Divan, and the Dervendgi-Pacha, or Inspector-General of the High-Roads, received orders to march out against him. The Vizir of Avlona, Kourid Pacha, was at this time invested with this office; he took the field, but Ali Bey was by this time become too strong, and his military talents, as well as the valour of his soldiers, secured him the victory in all his rencounters.

Kourid Pacha was, in fact, soon obliged to enter into negotiations. It was then that the superiority of Ali's genius met with the first opportunity of displaying itself. He employed all his eloquence to captivate the man who was to be his judge, and he even succeeded. Kourid Pacha not only ceased to persecute Ali, but he also entered into direct and friendly relations with him. Some persons pretend that Ali himself caused a report to be circulated that Kourid

Pacha wished to bestow his daughter on him in marriage; and his enemies add, that the dervises opposed this measure, in consequence of the imputed assassination of his brother. Soon after this new connection he united his forces to those of Kourd Pacha, at that time in a state of warfare against the Vizir of Skutari, Mahmoud Pacha. The military exploits of Ali secured victory to the banners of the Vizir of Avlona, who was thereby enabled to make an advantageous peace. Such important services obtained for Ali the most efficacious protection of his suzerin, or supreme feudal chief, now become his ally; and, dexterous in availing himself of circumstances, he took possession of his father's inheritance, and soon proceeded to humble the Bey of Kaminitza and the town of Goritza, which he took and pillaged. On retiring to Tepeleni, he directed his attention to the search of an alliance by means of marriage. At that time he was rich, powerful, and held in high consideration. The Pacha of Argiro-Kastro granted his daughter to him, by whom he had his two eldest sons, Mouktar and Veli. When he married he was only twenty years of age.

Some years after his marriage a dissension took place between the two sons of the Pacha of Argiro-Kastro, of which possibly Ali was the

instigator. The regret and anxiety of these domestic discords occasioned the death of the father, and his eldest son, who succeeded him, was assassinated by his brother. Ali, attentive to his own interests, hastened to allay the civil war this murder had given rise to; but the people, who had penetrated his design, opposed him by force, and he was compelled to withdraw and wait for another opportunity, which the wisdom of the above inhabitants has hitherto prevented from taking place.

About this period he is stated to have entered into a war with the Greek inhabitants of Liebovó, who, after several years' resistance, were at length obliged to submit. Near the same time a civil war which broke out in the town of Charmova furnished him with the means of making himself master of the place, when he made away with the chief of the country, Papas Oglou, (the son of a priest, and in Albanian Krauz-Prifti,) massacred or dispersed the inhabitants, and destroyed the town. These two expeditions made him master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus in front of Argiro-Kastro, which he held under observation, and whose inhabitants, on their side, established a species of redoubt, and a post of 500 men on the bridge situated below the city. He also availed himself of the above conquests, which had brought him nearer



to Joannina, to make attempts on the latter city, as well as on Arta, but he was repelled. The ancient Pacha of Joannina, to whom he was under personal obligations, at that time no longer existed there.

A little time afterwards the Porte entertained a wish to rid itself of the Sandgiak of Delvino, Selim Pacha. This governor had delivered over, or rather sold, to the Venetians the town and territory of Bucintró, which ought to have been yielded up to them by the last treaty, but which the Turks still retained. Ali Bey offered to take charge of this commission on condition of his being named Sandgiak of Delvino, which is a Pachalic with two tails. Having succeeded in his demand, he took an opportunity of introducing himself to Selim, and having insinuated himself into his confidence, as well as that of his son Mustapha, he was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He then caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested, but soon afterwards he was compelled to fly, in order to escape from the indignation and vengeance of the vassals of Selim; and he indeed lost the fruits of his perfidy.

In this interval Kourd Pacha had been disgraced, and this event dismembered the Sandgiak of Avlona, of which several districts passed under the control of the Vizir of Skutari, and

others were united to the Sandgiak of Elbassan, whose Pacha was named a Vizir, and fixed his residence at Berat. The district of Tepeleni, together with the acquisitions of Ali along the Drino, then became independent. Viezy Ali Pacha, a native of Constantinople, was at that time created Dervendgi-Pacha. He was a weak and narrow-minded man, and unable to adopt the proper means of fulfilling the duties of his charge. Ali caused himself to be proposed as his lieutenant, and the Dervendgi-Pacha, dazzled by the illusive hope of dissipating the brigands by employing the most celebrated of them, named him to the office. At that time the chiefs of the Klephtes became legitimate conquerors, provided with the diplomas of Ali Depedelengi, the surname given to the hero of our narrative, from the place of his birth, called in Turkish Depedelen; to whom the douceurs of the above chiefs, and his own exactions, brought in a sum estimated at 150,000 piastres, or 300,000 francs. This traffic, however, did not last longer than about six months, at the end of which the Divan, finding that no road in European Turkey was any longer free, was under the necessity of divesting the new Dervendgi-Pacha of his office.

At this period (1787) a war broke out between Austria, Russia, and Turkey. The money Ali Bey had been able to collect served him to pay

agents at Constantinople, and to obtain an employment. He served with his Albanian corps in the army of the Grand Vizir, Joussouf Pacha. His conduct during this war was brilliant; his military talents, and the valour of his soldiers, inured by twenty years of war and victory, obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But his attention to the war and the interests of the Ottoman empire did not, however, withdraw him from his ambitious projects. Hitherto he had no government, he was without a title, and he wished to be a sovereign, whatever was the sacrifice. Knowing the projects of Russia on Greece, and fully aware of the secret measures of the Russian government in Albania, the Epirus, and Morea, he resolved to turn himself on that side, in order to secure to himself a point of support in case the war proved disadvantageous to the Porte, as well as in every other circumstance that might favour his views or interests. Under the pretext of obtaining the release of Mahmud Pacha, one of his nephews who had been made prisoner, he entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. This correspondence soon became active, and took a direction favourable to the interests of Russia, who at that time could rely on Ali Bey in case of a fresh expedition in the Mediterranean.

The Author himself saw at Joannina a watch set in diamonds which Prince Potemkin caused to be presented to Ali, after peace was signed, as it was then said, in testimony of esteem for his bravery and talents. The correspondence of Ali with Russia lasted till he himself became master of Joannina, as well as nearly of all Albania, when he had no longer any direct interest in aiding the above power to establish itself in his vicinity.

After the peace, finding himself possessed of considerable riches, and at the head of a small army inured to war and devoted to him, Ali Bey obtained sufficient credit at Constantinople to have himself named Pacha of Trikala, in Thessaly. His vicinity terrified the Beys of Joannina, and particularly the Greek merchants of the latter city, who feared his exactions, and, above all, lest he should take possession of their city, whose government was at that time vacant. Both the above two parties negotiated near the Divan in order to remove this danger. During this time he was establishing himself as absolute master in all Thessaly except Larissa, where he was unable to enter, being obliged to be satisfied with the tributes the Beys thereof paid to him.

The most complete anarchy, however, reigned at Joannina. The Beys, divided in their inte-

rests, carried on war among themselves; and the inhabitants compelled to take part in these quarrels were reciprocally ransomed by all parties. The opportunity was too favourable for Ali not to hasten to avail himself of it. He presented himself almost unexpectedly before the city, whilst, through his agents at Constantinople, he solicited the *firman* which was to confer upon him the title of its Sandgiak. The Beys united at the first news of his approach, and marched out to meet him. They were beaten, but Ali Pacha was unable to enter into the city. The Joannina agents near the Divan had, nevertheless, obtained a *firman* forbidding him from entering into the city; the Beys had received advice of the circumstance, and the courier was hourly expected. He at length arrived, and delivered his dispatches to Ali. They were publicly read, and nothing could equal the surprise of the inhabitants when they heard their contents. He had been created Dervendgi-Pacha, and received the order to enter Joannina without any delay. They were agitated with alarm, but the alternative of obedience alone remained.

Ali Pacha, judging that the favourable moment was not yet come to display the severity and also the harshness of his character, entered in a friendly manner, promised the inhabitants to

protect them against the Beys, and the latter to preserve their fortunes and honours; after which he posted a strong garrison in the Kastron and returned to Trikala. A short time afterwards it was discovered that the *firman* of which he had made use had been forged by himself, on the advices he transmitted by his agents of the real orders he was about to receive from the Porte. But he was now master of the city, and it was no longer possible to drive him out. Nevertheless, partly through caresses, and partly through menaces, he obtained from the inhabitants a petition, soliciting the Sandgiak of Joannina for him. This petition, and the money he was enabled to lavish, did in fact obtain for him the above government, as well as the office of Dervendgi-Pacha. The latter charge, by giving him the superintendence of the police of the high roads, and placing under his orders the governors of several provinces, has singularly aided him to extend his power and increase his riches. Soon afterwards he married his two sons to two daughters of the Vizir of Berat, Ibrahim Pacha, and himself espoused the rich widow of a Pacha, who brought to him a considerable dowry of lands in the Epirus.

At this time being apprehensive of the jealousy of the Porte, as well as of the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople, he sought out

the protection of France, which he obtained through the means of the Consul at Prevesa, and thus dissipated the storm by which he was threatened. After this he endeavoured to enter into a correspondence similar to that he had kept up with Russia, and even wrote to Louis XVI.; but the French minister declined accepting his propositions, by reminding him that he was a subject of the Ottoman empire. Furious at an answer so little satisfactory, he made the whole weight of his anger fall on the French Consul at Arta, and by his ill-treatment compelled him to fly in order to secure his life. Whilst he was carrying on this fruitless negotiation he did not lose sight of his project of rendering himself master of Southern Albania. He at first directed his attention towards Klissoura, an important post, and too near the place of his nativity to be indifferent to him; and it was, besides, the key of the dominions of the Vizir of Berat. The first step he took was to give one of his nieces in marriage to one of the sons of Veli Bey, chief of the country, and who had just died. Once introduced into the family, he soon planted dissensions among its members, and making use of this pretext to draw the young beys to his court, he made away with them, and seized on Klissoura, as well as their property. The capture of Klissoura facilitated

to him the means of possessing himself of the canton of Premiti, which made him master of the whole course of the Vojutza, and paved the way to the invasion of Avlona, which he enveloped on all sides. Whilst he was thus extending himself towards the N., Ali Pacha attacked and dispossessed the Pacha of Arta, established it is true in one of the districts of the Sandgiak of Joannina, but from whom he also carried off the government of Acarnania. He engaged in a war against the Souliots and Philates, and deprived the Pacha of Delvino of the districts of Paramithia and Margariti, which, however, he was not able to reduce into entire submission.

As soon as the peace of Campo Formio had united the Seven Islands under the protection of France, this new vicinity forcibly attracted the attention of Ali. He saw, or thought he saw, a storm preparing against Turkey. The change of government and the conquests of France appeared to him to forebode events which must necessarily change the relations of the latter with the Ottoman empire. Nothing more was wanting to induce him to enter into correspondence with Napoleon, at that time General in Chief of the army of Italy. He at least hoped thereby to secure to himself the support and protection of the Governor of Corfu, and obtain instructions for the latter that might



be favourable to him, of which he might avail himself for the promotion of his own interests. He succeeded, and the first fruits of these new connexions were the possession of the Greek towns of the coast, which brought him nearer to Chimara, placed him in communication with the sea, and furnished him with fresh means against the Sandgiak of Delvino, Mustapha Pacha, son of Selim. He was not deceived in the whole of his calculations, since, in fact, France entered into hostilities with the Ottoman empire through the invasion of Egypt. The consequence could not fail of being a declaration of war on the part of the Divan; it indeed took place, and Ali Pacha availed himself of it in order to complete the consolidation of his own power. Even at the time that he was in intimate relation with the French Governor of the Seven Islands, a command then held by General Chabot, at Constantinople he was making a parade of the zeal with which he had proceeded to reduce the faithless towns of the coast, and to subject them to the Ottoman laws. For this he again obtained fresh rewards.

Shortly afterwards, in order to sustain his credit at Constantinople, he marched troops to Vidin, against Passvan Oglou. He was engaged in this expedition when he received advices of the capture of Malta, and the landing of the

French army in Egypt. He was still employed in the same service when he learnt that the Porte was about to declare war against the French republic, and to take part in the league formed against it. He foresaw that France was on the eve of losing the Seven Islands; that she was unable to resist the forces preparing to attack them, and he resolved to be in readiness to avail himself of the events that might occur in his favour. He therefore returned rapidly to Joanina, and, as a better guidance to the line of conduct he had to observe, his first care was to learn the exact state of defence in which Corfu was left, in order that he might not uselessly quarrel with the French in case they were able to hold out in the above place, and thus partly retain possession of the Seven Islands. As soon as he arrived, he caused General Chabot to be informed of the declaration of war about to be published, and the expected arrival of a combined Russian and Turkish fleet. He at the same time feigned to be extremely apprehensive with regard to his own personal safety from the arrival of the Russians; and the presence of an Ottoman army in that quarter; and he proposed to the General to send a person to him with whom he might discuss and fix the basis of a treaty of alliance with France. This fear appeared so much the more natural, because it was

well known that the political conduct of Ali, his rapid aggrandizement, and the violence with which he had dispossessed, or rather stripped, the governors established by the Porte, must have displeased the latter government. With regard to the Russians, their known projects on Greece, and the hopes which the Greeks openly built on their succour, rendered the apprehensions of Ali extremely founded.

The Adjutant General Rose was selected by General Chabot, and sent to Joannina; and the choice preferably fell upon him because he was married to a Greek woman of the latter city, and had connections there which it was believed might prove useful to him. Ali Pacha entered into negotiation; but every thing was delayed, in order to gain time, and to place him in a situation of ripening his projects and fixing his determinations. Repeated and prolonged discussions, as well as studied and coincident objections, obliged the Adjutant General Rose successively to develop to him the means of defence held by Corfu, and to make him acquainted with the real situation of the French republic. Perhaps this officer, extremely estimable in other respects, was not possessed of sufficient address or distrust of the character of Ali Pacha to obviate captious questions, or to answer them conformably to the interests of his

government. Let this be as it may, Ali Pacha acquired the conviction that Corfu was unable to make a long defence, and that France was not in a situation to succour the troops she had there. From that time his resolution was formed, and he was under no further apprehensions of throwing off the mask. He caused the Adjutant General Ross to be arrested, loaded him with irons, and had him conveyed to Constantinople, where this officer died of the ill-treatment he had experienced. To the Porte Ali enhanced the great service he had rendered by arresting, as he represented the affair, a spy who had obtained access to Joannina. However, in order to retain at all times the means of obviating the ill consequences of such conduct, in case he should hereafter stand in need of the French government, he caused it to be reported in his dominions that this arrest was no other than a reprisal for the seizure of an imaginary vessel richly laden for his account, of which he said General Chabot had deprived him. At a later period he sustained this untruth, and even had sufficient address to cause it to be believed by M. Pouqueville, the Consul General sent to him by the Emperor Napoleon.

Soon after this violation of the rights of nations, he attacked and took Prevesa, as we shall have occasion to notice. The subsequent siege

and capture of Corfu also gave him possession of Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Bucintró. He willingly would have had St. Maura and Parga, but he was not sufficiently strong for such an enterprise. The treaty of 25th March, 1800, placed the above four towns under his oppressive protection; the fifth ought likewise to have experienced the same fate, and he did not fail to claim it on several occasions. But the courageous opposition of the brave inhabitants of Parga prevailed, and hitherto he has never been able to gain entrance into their town.

Previous to his obtaining a powerful establishment in Albania he had sought the protection of Russia, as we have already pointed out; but as soon as he had secured to himself the government of Joannina, and had extended his dominions, he neglected his relations with the above power, whose protection would have become dangerous to him if he had aided its establishment in his own vicinity. As long as he saw the Russians in the Seven Islands, he was jealous and hated them. His conduct towards them in this particular has always been constant, and the motives of his actions are only to be found in his own interests, or originate in his ambition. The clauses of the treaty of 25th March had placed the Ionian republic under the joint protection of Russia and Turkey, and the Rus-

sian forces, in fact, soon afterwards retired. In these two circumstances Ali conceived the possibility of seizing on Corfu and St. Maura, situated opposite to his own dominions, the possession of which would have consolidated his power on the neighbouring continent. It was he who, under pretext of sustaining the pretensions of the nobility, excited the first commotions which broke out in the islands, with an intention of availing himself of them. He therefore took this opportunity to represent to the Porte that the only means of restoring tranquillity would be to allow him to garrison Corfu, Parga, and St. Maura.

His representations and his gold nearly prevailed at Constantinople over the opposition of the Ionian senate, and he was on the point of obtaining the order he solicited. The Russian agents, however, who on their side had favoured the popular party, prevented him; and at their instigation the senate threw themselves into the arms of Russia; and, fortunately for the Seven Islands, the troops of the latter power arrived and established themselves there. This measure, which overturned all his projects, did not fail to increase his jealousy against the Russians, and from that moment he directed his thoughts to the means of securing the protection of another power. He long hesitated be-

tween France and England, but the first was then too far removed from him; and the First Consul, with whom he had already been under relations, was, besides, too much occupied for him to rely on an efficacious protection. The presence of a British squadron, which had approached Corfu, and held the Ionian republic under maritime control, enabled Ali to fix his resolves. He succeeded in establishing a correspondence with the British Admiral, and afterwards extended his relations, and even prevailed in having the Consul belonging to the Morea deputed to confer with him at Joannina. It was at that time pretended that he had concluded a secret convention with the British government, but no official document has transpired to prove the fact. All these measures were reduced to attempts and negotiations, which the exaggeration of his pretensions, and the political situation under which England stood with regard to Russia and Turkey, rendered inadmissible.

Whilst his future projects, and a wish to consolidate his power, as well as to figure among the powers of Europe, made him follow up these various intrigues and negotiations, which at each moment changed aspect without their object being in any way altered, his ambition, always restless and on the alert, did not suffer him

to lose sight of his own aggrandizement, or the means of amassing fresh riches. The influence he was anxious to retain with the divan, the agents he kept up in all the neighbouring provinces, and those he employed in the interior police of his country, cost him considerable sums, and these he was desirous to replace. The expenses he was under at Constantinople ought to have diminished in proportion to the increase of his power ; not only because a weak government like that of the Ottomans is under the necessity of temporizing with its powerful vassals, but because by multiplying the offices of which it could dispose it increased the number of its own creatures. These two considerations engaged him to avail himself of the favourable opinion of the divan, which he had acquired by his conduct since the year 1799, and particularly through the manner in which he had caused his operations to be viewed.

In conformity to his endeavours, he next obtained the office of Roumeli Valachi, which, united to that of Dervendgi Pacha, placed him in a situation to raise his power to that height on which it now stands. In fact the latter office, by entrusting to his care the superintendence of the police of the high-roads, placed in his hands the interior police of the provinces, which could only be exercised by agents entirely



subservient to his influence. The first office, which corresponds to that of military governor-general of all Roumelia, that is, with the exception of the districts of Constantinople, Bosnia, and Servia, of all the rest of European Turkey, gave him the supreme authority over all the governors of the various provinces. He well knew how to improve the tenure of both commands to his own advantage. Compelled by the duties of his office to visit the provinces under his jurisdiction, he did not fail to comply with an obligation which brought him in immense treasures. It was at this time that he pillaged the city of Monastir, and carried away for his own account nineteen waggons laden with gold, silver, and other valuable effects. Being charged to collect into the imperial treasury the arrears of contributions, as well in money as in kind, he increased them in the proportion of from three to five. The terror his name inspired forced the inhabitants of the provinces on which the same had been imposed to pay without delay, and the surplus of two-fifths remained to himself for his expenses of collection. On this occasion, besides money and other articles, 20,000 sheep were added to his other numerous flocks. In a word, his exactions then wrested from the provinces are estimated at 10,000,000 of piastres, or 20,000,000 of francs,

and this calculation is by no means exaggerated. Yet this was not the only advantage he derived by the offices he had solicited and obtained. They left at his disposal all the districts of Macedonia, and of the Sandgiak of Negropont, which hitherto he had not been able to control, but of which a descriptive outline has been given in a preceding chapter.

The victory of Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg, recalled his attention towards France. The union of Dalmatia and Venetian Albania to the kingdom of Italy, and the presence of a French army, which guarded these countries and occupied Ragusa, brought him almost in contact with a power with which he had already twice entered into negotiations, though the first time without success. He considered, and with just reason, that in politics the remembrance of the past ought always to disappear before present interests; and that an infraction, and even an anterior offence, must be forgotten when compared to the advantage a new connection with him might offer. France was then in a state of hostility with Russia, who had just seized on Cattaro; and the means of creating inquietude to the latter power in the Seven Islands could not fail to be agreeable to the first. Such was his calculation; and he was not deceived. He secretly sent agents to the Emperor Napoleon, so-

liciting that a resident consul might be sent near him, through the medium of whom he might be able more easily to correspond with the French government. His request was granted; and soon afterwards M. Bessieres, who had formerly been his prisoner, proceeded to Joannina, accompanied by M. Pouqueville, who, after passing some days in the capacity of a simple traveller, obtained a special audience; after which he assumed the character of consul-general, resident at Joannina, and not at Arta or Prevesa, like his predecessors, who, besides, had held no other than the title of simple consuls.

At this time the credit of Ali increased still more at Constantinople, through the open protection he enjoyed from the French government. Of this he availed himself without loss of time, and obtained for his eldest son, Mouktar, the Sandgiak of Lepanto; and for his younger son, Veli, that of the Morea. This unequal distribution was founded on the rank they held in his opinion and affection with regard to their respective characters.

The war which then broke out between Turkey and Russia placed Ali Pacha in a state of open hostilities with the Seven Islands. This event again awakened in him his old anxiety to obtain possession of these islands, or at least of

those which were within his reach; and might secure to him the means of subjecting the clans situated on the coast, whom hitherto he had been unable to reduce, and thus affiance his sway on that part of the continent. He pressed the French consul-general in the most urgent manner to induce his government to send him officers, cannoniers, vessels, and more especially pieces of artillery, as well as military stores, of which he stood in need. He engaged to push the war vigorously against the Russians who were in the Seven Islands, and to prevent them, by that means, not only from troubling the French army in Dalmatia, but also to defend or succour Cattaro. It was only at the commencement of 1807 that he was enabled to obtain what he desired. At this period 50 artillerymen, several officers, one gun-boat, one corvette, and ordnance and military stores, were sent to him from Italy and the kingdom of Naples. He availed himself of this succour to his own advantage. At the same time that he undertook by land the siege of St. Maura, of which he was anxious to acquire possession, and considered the conquest as by no means difficult, he caused the forts and batteries existing in the interior of his states to be repaired and armed. At the entrance of the road of Porto Palermo he established a fort, which perfectly defends it; and did the same at

Prevesa; and in the city of Joannina he fortified the second citadel of Litaritza.

Notwithstanding his attention was divided, in consequence of the conduct of the Tziamides, Paramithians, and Acarnanians, secret allies of the Ionians and Russians, the siege of St. Maura was pushed with vigour. The explosion of a powder magazine having dismantled one of the forts, a landing point was thereby left uncovered, but the construction of a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats was pressed with activity; indeed every thing was ready for the arrival of a corps of 10,000 Albanians, when the peace of Tilsit caused hostilities to cease. Ali Pacha wished them still to continue, but the French officers formally refused to consent, and deprived of the aid of their artillerymen, he was compelled to abandon his design. He then changed his line of conduct, and hastened to conclude an armistice with General Stetter who commanded at St. Maura.

During this time, however, he did not lose sight of his political negotiations. Desirous to derive the greatest possible advantage from the situation in which he stood with regard to France, he conceived it necessary to have an agent near the Emperor Napoleon, through whose means he might correspond without the intervention of the minister of foreign affairs,

which appeared to him too long. As soon as he heard the news of the total invasion of Prussia and of the entry of the French armies into Poland, he despatched to the Imperial head quarters his confidential secretary and a member of his divan, whom at his own court he decorated with the title of ambassador. This minister, whose Turkish name is Mollach Mehemet Effendi, was an Italian and a new convert to the Mussulman faith. Formerly sent to Malta by the Inquisition of Rome, in this island he exercised the functions of Father Inquisitor, at the time the French took possession of it. He was a very good master of the Oriental languages, and being of an intriguing character, he willingly accepted the proposition of the General in Chief, Buonaparte, who attached him to his head quarters in quality of interpreter. Some time after the battle of Aboukir, having obtained permission to return to Europe, he embarked at Alexandria with some scavants who had accompanied the expedition, and was taken at sea by a Dulcignot privateer, called Orucz, who made a present of him to Ali Pacha. Soon after his arrival at Joannina, he changed his religion; and after remaining some years in a state of obscurity, obtained the good graces of Ali, who made him his secretary, gave him a place in his divan, and

in consequence of the employment he had once held near Napoleon, he preferably made choice of him to send him on the above mission to the army. In conformity to the instructions of his master, Mehemet Effendi used all possible exertions with the Emperor of the French, in order to obtain a promise that when peace was carried into effect, at least Parga and St. Maura should be delivered over to Ali Pacha. These solicitations having failed of success, Mehemet intrigued at Tilsit with the French and Russian plenipotentiaries, in order to have the interests of his master taken into consideration; but the integrity of the Ionian republic being one of the bases of the negotiations resolved on, his object was defeated. On his return to the court of Ali, the ill success of his mission brought upon him the momentary displeasure of his employer.

As soon as Ali beheld the Ionian Islands occupied by French troops, having lost all hopes of aggrandizing himself in that quarter, France in his eyes no longer held the rank of a favourite power, since she was of no further utility in the promotion of his interests. Shortly the same hatred and jealousy which for the preceding years he had entertained against Russia were transferred to her. He did not, however, manifest his rankled feelings in an avowed and

formal manner. He had already once succeeded, by surprising the good faith of a French general, in obtaining possession of the Greek towns of the coast, and hereafter he hoped to obtain his object by some similar artifice, and eventually seize upon Parga. He sent to Corfu, immediately after the arrival of General Cesar Berthier there, another member of his divan, Mehemet, the Sheik-Islam (or chief of the religion) of Joannina, together with a secretary originally belonging to Corfu, named Psalidi. These two agents were charged to claim the town and territory of Parga, which, according to them, in conformity to the treaty of 25th March, 1800, ought to be surrendered up to Ali Pacha. Fortunately their object had been anticipated; and the observations of the Ionian senate as well as of several persons near the General, and particularly the profound hatred the Parga deputation manifested against Ali, produced the proper impressions. "If it accords with the interests of the French empire," said these deputies, "that the small surface of land on which our country is situated, should be delivered over to the Turks, let at least a rock be granted to us on which we may preserve our liberty and independence, far from the tyrant who has butchered our neighbours and brethren." The agents of Ali Pacha were



consequently dismissed without having obtained any thing.

After this, Ali acted without any further consideration or regard; and not only obstructed by every means in his power the provisioning of Corfu, but also again entered into communications with England. He received British vessels at Prevesa, and obtained that an accredited agent should be sent out to him. His position had changed. France, in possession of the Seven Islands, had become his enemy, because she was a powerful obstacle to his views and ambitious projects; whilst England, in a state of warfare both against France and the Ionian republic, seemed more adapted to contribute to his future security and accession of power; and this alone was sufficient to fix his choice.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Character of Ali Pacha.—His cruel Policy.—His Qualities as a Head of Government.—His Administration.—His Affectation in appearing to patronise the Greeks.—His Divan.—Ministers.—Interior and external Police.—Palaces.—Revenue and Riches.—Military Establishment.—Population.—His Political Views on the Ionian Islands.—Character of his Children.*

THE basis of the character of Ali Pacha, of which a general idea may be formed from the preceding narrative of the principal events of his life, as well as from the line of conduct which has successively raised him to the summit of power on which he now stands, is falsehood and ambition. These two propensities, of which the last is a devouring passion, and the first a habit and a want, have mutually served each other as an aliment and support. In him they have called forth and nourished all the vices which can inspire horror into those who may become his victims, or fear among his most confidential satellites. The want of money, under which he laboured from the very com-

mencement of his career, and was so long an obstacle to his elevation ; the certitude which by experience he acquired that with this powerful stimulus venal souls are always found and impelled to favour every species of crime, caused him early to contract the habits of avarice and rapacity. It is impossible to carry these two vices to a higher pitch than they are found in him. To give is a word foreign to his vocabulary, and a feeling estranged from his bosom. He only seeks to purchase when he is compelled to draw gold from his coffers. Not a reward is bestowed that is not intended to seduce him who receives it, and to bring in to the giver a fruit doubly equivalent to the amount of the recompense. Sometimes, nay even frequently, he despoils the venal agent who has served him, and then smiles within himself at the idea of having punished a traitor.

His rapacity also extends to every thing, and resorts to all kinds of pretexts. A merchant appears in his dominions with effects, of which he is anxious to obtain possession ; he calls him to his presence, and, with an insulting parade of equity, he purchases, but at the prices he himself has affixed. A rich vassal has lately expired, and he wishes to inherit the whole or part of his property ; to effect this all means are alike good. At one time he would attack

the children of the deceased and wrest from them their property, sword in hand; at others, he feigns a will in his own favour, and when he comes to insist on its compliance, with insulting irony he frequently enters into the praises of the deceased. "My friend," said he one day to a young Greek of Joannina, whose father had just died, "your father was a most respectable man, I sincerely regret his loss, we were most intimate friends. On his death-bed he has, however, remembered me, and bequeathed to me his house, furniture, and gardens."—"But, my Lord," observed the youth, "that is more than three-fourths of my whole fortune."—"My child," replied Ali, "the will of your father ought to be sacred to you, and if you have the impiety to disregard it, I will cause you to be hanged." No other alternative than obedience was left.

His insatiable ambition has also rendered him jealous and vindictive, and these two other vices have acquired in his soul all the violence of which so ardent a character as his could render them susceptible. Nothing that approaches him is exempt from the suspicions by which his restless jealousy is unceasingly agitated. His nephews, his children, even the persons most devoted to him, those who are generally supposed to enjoy the plenitude of his confidence,

are to him more or less objects of fear and distrust. The protestations of their fidelity have no credit in the eyes of a man, who calls good faith a weakness in mankind, and a defect among sovereigns. The fidelity of past services is no secure pledge for the future in the breast of one who changes his conduct and connexions as often as his own interests require. Even the ties of blood, in his mind, are not a sufficient guarantee; and if any thing can give credit to the charge alleged against him of being the assassin of his brother and mother, undoubtedly it is the apprehensions under which he lives with regard to his own children, and the certitude with which he advances that, after his death, the youngest of his sons will become the victim of the ambition of the two eldest, and that the latter will mutually seek to destroy each other.

He knows only one means of securing the fidelity of those he employs; this is, to obtain hostages from them. Even his own children are not exempt from this precaution. When they departed to take upon themselves their respective governments, he retained their families near himself, and did not even conceal from them the motive of this preventive caution. The only one of his relations in whom he appears to have confidence is his natural brother, Joussouf Bey, born of a black slave in his father's harem.

But the mildness of his character, totally devoid of ambition, his admiration and absolute devotion to Ali, and, above all, his quality of natural instead of legitimate son, which divest him of all pretensions and deprive him of all personal credit, have appeared to Ali sufficient motives not to fear him. Nevertheless, he holds him in an absolute dependance, keeps him at a distance from all civil and political affairs, and employs him only at the head of his troops, where his courage and good sense render him useful.

The vengeance of Ali Pacha is implacable and knows no limits either in manner or place. The only modification of which it is susceptible is that it is more cruel the longer it is delayed, or where his anger is more violent. His power, his credit, his address, as well as his dissimulation, render its effects almost infallible and inevitable. His hatred increases with delay, and his memory, always present and always faithful, never suffers him to forget any offence, true or supposed, which he has to avenge, whatever be the interval that separates the date of the act from the existing moment. A short period before the arrival of the Author at Joannina, Ali Pacha, in causing a body of troops to defile before him at Bonila, recognized and singled out, at a distance of more than

300 paces, an Albanian soldier in the ranks, whom he pretended had offended him 20 years before. This unfortunate man had been arrested at the time, and plunged into a dungeon, but by some lucky occurrence had effected his escape. After wandering about in several provinces of Greece, he at length enlisted among the troops of a Bey who entered into the service of Ali Pacha. The inexorable Ali put him to death. Another example of the astonishing memory of this extraordinary man took place in presence of the Author at Prevesa. An individual belonging to Liapis had been arrested and brought before Ali, who always filled the office of judge in the places where he happened to be present. The Pacha himself cited all the traits of brigandage of which this man had been guilty, stating the dates and the names of the persons who had been victims, and did not condemn him till after the culprit had avowed each one of the facts. The periods which Ali recalled in his interrogatory embraced a space of 15 years.

His dissimulation is impenetrable to one who knows him not by his actions, or who does not judge him in conformity to the only basis of his interest and ambition. It is not only blended in his words and protestations, but is also to be found in his demeanour and habits. He is an

extremely handsome man, and possessed of a physiognomy which he knows how to render engaging when he conceives it necessary, but which is nevertheless habitually soft and smiling. Extremely attentive in his behaviour, his address and manners are elegant. He is choice in his dress, and his garments are even sumptuous. He affects a dazzling luxury in the ornaments and furniture of his palaces, and an Asiatic softness in his habits. He is continually occupied about buildings, furniture, and decorations ; yet all this is only affectation ; and the occupation which he thereby gives to those who surround him withdraws them from a serious attention to his actions and designs.

His address is prepossessing, and even endearing : his countenance wears the impression of frankness and honesty, and particularly of a profound wheedler, who could not be suspected if his features had not something of a studied sameness. Indeed in his countenance the expression of any one of the passions which agitate him within is never to be read ; jealousy, fear, hatred, and vengeance, are there confounded under the form of a cloudless satisfaction, and under the soft expression of an irreproachable conscience. Moderate, and even obliging in his expressions ; dexterous in the manner of representing objects ; clear and me-



thodical in the classification of his ideas; gifted by nature with a sure logic and persuasive eloquence, in which he knows how to disguise his sophisms; it is difficult not to be convinced or borne away by him when he enters into a conversation for the purpose of furthering some object or view. To resist him, it is necessary to be possessed of a perfect knowledge of his character; and always to hold the picture before one's eyes; and still his dissimulation is so disguised and profound, that one almost feels a reproach for being on one's guard, and acting with a salutary distrust.

This dissimulation, uniform, and so constantly sustained, and which has been of such great assistance in all his political operations, can nevertheless be upheld only with the greatest precaution, and by an unceasing attention to hide the springs he employs in order to arrive at the accomplishment of his designs. These precautions, which he has never laid aside, furnish however a fresh proof of the egotism and cruelty of his character. When he has been unable to succeed by his ordinary means, which are to excite dissensions, to render discords implacable, to cause crimes to be committed by those very persons he has singled out for his victims; in a word, to excite all the passions which can give rise to disorders, in order to avail himself of

them either as mediator or avenger, he then resolves to proceed towards his object by the most direct road. The violence of his passions, and his impatience to enjoy, do not allow him to wait when he believes he is possessed of the means of striking his blow. It is in his character never to delay to the next day what at the present moment he thinks he can effect, unless insurmountable obstacles compel him to display as much patience as he naturally evinces impetuosity. When, therefore, he is under the necessity of employing an agent for one of those operations which he neither can nor wishes to avow, the care of exteriorly keeping up appearances dictates to him the barbarous precaution of afterwards ridding himself of his instrument. Thus does a bloody and impenetrable veil cover to the eyes of the generality of his subjects the plots and crimes of their master.

At the side of these capital vices in the character of Ali Pacha are found some of the qualities which constitute great sovereigns. A profound knowledge of the human heart, which makes his choice good of those who are to be employed near him, enables him correctly to decypher their respective talents, and to assign to them the offices most suited to their abilities. In affairs he possesses a perspicacity which exhibits to him their tendency even at first sight,

and prevents him from being deceived in the means he ought to employ to cause them to redound to his advantage. He knows how to wait for or produce opportunities favourable to his political views, and he improves them with astonishing rapidity. He is courageous, and his valour, by which he distinguished himself in the first years of his political career, is far from being extinguished. He possesses that calm courage which knows how to measure danger, and discover the means of escaping or resisting it in a deliberate manner. This courage has served to sustain himself with so much tranquillity, as well as to ward off the dangers by which another would have been overcome. In order to be secure in the midst of his subjects, all of whom fear, and nearly all hate him, he takes no visible precautions of defence; since by a feigned security he has made to himself one that is real. He generally goes out accompanied by only one or two pages, one of his confidants, and a couple of soldiers; and such is the dread inspired by his personal courage, and the persuasion that a conspiracy could never succeed, that very few attempts have been made against his life. A fortunate chance has uniformly saved him, and even this same chance has contributed to his future security.

The government of Ali Pacha may be consi-

dered under two aspects, viz. under that of the oppression he has exercised, as well as the cruelties he has committed against all persons powerful through their strength, riches, or influence, whether it was to augment his fortune or to rid himself of dangerous rivals; and hence may it justly be called both cruel and tyrannical. With regard to the security the people enjoy, the religious toleration accorded to the Greeks much more in his dominions than in the rest of the Ottoman empire, and the privileges he grants to these same Greeks by employing them indistinctly near his person, or in subaltern commands, his government is moderate and equitable. This apparent contradiction is not, however, such in point of fact; it is the immediate consequence of the situation in which he is placed, and of the system which his political views have caused him to adopt. The provinces which now constitute his dominions have never formed a whole, uniform and concentrated round the authority of one. His project is to bring them to this form; but since he considers himself as the true centre of action, and his will as the only guide by which his subjects ought to act, he has been under the necessity of removing every thing that could be detrimental to this union; and, by opposing resistance to every thing that could clash with his main object, he

has sought to create a connecting link between a variety of parts. Such, at least, is the solution he himself gives to his past as well as present conduct; that, however, which might explain in a satisfactory manner the inequalities and extravagances of his administrative government can only be found in his own character.

A despot through the natural consequences of his boundless ambition, he has no other rule for his government than his present will, and this is guided by the interest of the moment. The weak inspire him with neither fears nor jealousy; and it is by temporizing with them, and even by protecting them, that he seeks to acquire the reputation of justice and equity. The rich and powerful appear to him as objects of danger, and in exercising towards them a despotic justice he at the same time satisfies his ambition and his rapacity. The following anecdotes will convey an idea of the manner in which he administers justice:—The chief of the small town of Metzovo was an unjust and eager man, who availed himself of every opportunity that occurred in order to commit vexations, and enrich himself out of their produce. For a considerable time past the inhabitants of this town had presented, or caused to be presented, to Ali Pacha petitions against their chief without having been

able to obtain his removal. In one of the circuits which Ali from time to time performs in his dominions he at length passed through Metzova. The inhabitants in crowds went out to meet him, and prostrated themselves at his feet, crying out *anman*, or mercy. He caused the subject of their prayer to be explained to him; and when he was told they demanded that their chief should be punished with death, he assembled the priests, and exhorted them to engage the inhabitants not to suffer the blood of one of their fellow-creatures to fall upon them. Seeing, however, that the people insisted, he ordained the execution of the delinquent, telling the inhabitants "that on them was his blood to fall;" and in order to complete this hypocritical farce, he said to those who surrounded him, that he was happy in not being the author of the death of an individual, since he had been compelled to yield to the wishes of the people. He however took care to confiscate the property of the deceased to his own personal advantage.

Some years afterwards having learnt that the chiefs of one of the cantons of Zagoria, under the pretext of levying by his orders an extraordinary contribution of 150,000 piastres, had extorted considerable sums from various individuals, he caused them to be brought to his pre-

sence, and condemned them to restore the money they had taken; compelling them, however, to lodge the 150,000 piastres in his own treasury, thanking them in an ironical manner for the care they had taken to furnish him with money. They remained in prison till the entire sum had been paid; and they were still there when the Author arrived at Joannina. Pretexts of justice also induced him to rid himself of his nephew, the same Mahmoud respecting whom he had entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. Being informed that, after the example of his uncle, he had placed himself at the head of a band of Klephtes, and that his party had been increased by several lucky expeditions, he had the address to draw him into his palace at Litaritza, alone and without arms, where he himself killed him with a pistol-ball.

His affectation to protect the Greeks has the same foundation; and this protection is, in fact, only apparent. It is to his interest to temporize with them; he stands in need of their talents in order to exercise several branches of the administration he cannot confide to Albanians too ignorant, and which he does not wish to place in the hands of the Turks, whom he mistrusts and hates. Hence does he employ and grant to them exterior marks of his confidence. It is to his interest to uphold them to a certain degree,

in order to be able, in the provinces which are Albanian, to oppose them to the Osmanlis when he thinks the time is come to separate himself entirely from the Ottoman empire. Nevertheless he fears them, because he knows that at bottom they hate him. He is not ignorant that the Greeks would not lend themselves to the execution of his plans unless to avail themselves of his aid and thus paralise the efforts of the Porte; and that whilst they at this moment flatter him with the title of King of Greece, their intention would not be to suffer him to enjoy it as soon as they had re-conquered their own liberty. On his part he only seeks to make use of them as instruments to attain his own ends, and by no means has in view to raise these people to command over his Albanians. Nevertheless, always constant in the practice of dissimulation, he is surrounded by Greeks, affects to speak their language equally well with the Albanian, and even not to know the Turkish language well. He enters into the details of their instruction, and sometimes causes the children of his Greek domestics to repeat their catechism before him, and has granted them the foundation of an university at Joannina. He draws up the greatest part of his public acts in Greek, as well as of his own private correspondence, and has no hesitation to make use of the date of



the Christian era. The Author himself is possessed of several autographical letters of Ali Pacha written in this manner.

However he takes the greatest care to prevent the Greeks from becoming too powerful: he keeps from them the most important posts, and particularly the military commands. He is also extremely careful to keep them at a distance from his children, and to prevent them from gaining any ascendancy over their minds. His son Veli causes him no inquietude on this score; but Mouktar, of a character entirely different from his brother, appears to incline towards the Greeks. The unfortunate Euphrosina, the most interesting female of Joannina, as well for her beauty as the qualities of her mind, became a victim to this jealousy. Mouktar was in love with her, and was every day at her house, where the most distinguished Greeks assembled together with their wives. Ali feared that the conversations and principles of the Greeks, coming from the mouth of so accomplished a female, whom he tenderly loved, might make too strong an impression on the mind of his son. In an underhand manner he excited the wives of Mouktar, and particularly the one who was the daughter of the Vizir of Berat, to complain, and even to demand a divorce. Ibrahim Pacha took part in the affair, and upheld the com-

plaints of his daughter. Ali then turned the matter into an affair of state; and his divan having been assembled, it was therein decided that Euphrosina and the other females of her society, to the number of fifteen, declared guilty of having seduced Mouktar, and thereby exposed Ali to the danger of sustaining a war against his neighbour, should be drowned. They were arrested in the night; when Ali Pacha, not having been able to find one of his satellites sufficiently bold to expose himself to the anger of Mouktar, himself proceeded to the house of Euphrosina, and delivered her over to her executioners. Afterwards, in order to detach Mouktar entirely from the Greeks, Ali took care to circulate, in a forced manner, that if the principal persons of the city, and particularly the Bishop of Trikala, uncle to Euphrosina, had solicited her pardon of him he would have granted it; but that religious hatred had prevented them from saving the mistress of a Mussulman. The Author would not have quoted this trait unless for the purpose of showing what base and cruel means Ali Pacha avails himself of for the attainment of his ends.

Ali Pacha has a divan composed of the principal officers of his house, and of persons whom he chooses among those he believes the most likely to be useful to him. This council is,

however, only organized for the sake of form, and not one of its members dares to express an opinion contrary to his. He therein proposes subjects for deliberation, discusses them, receives the approbation of the persons assisting, and then decides. He is himself his own minister in all the branches of administration, and his secretaries write down the orders dictated by him, which he addresses to his various subordinate officers. His prodigious memory enables him to enter into the most minute details; and though, according to the custom of the Turks, he keeps records of nothing, nothing nevertheless escapes him; and no measure clashes with the orders previously given, unless through the effect of a change of system introduced by him in his administration, which very rarely happens. His indefatigable activity makes him find time for every thing, and no affair whatever experiences the smallest delay. He requires this same activity from every one who surrounds and serves him, and in this particular he is even so extremely strict, that he carries through things which scarcely appear credible. His constant custom is to ordain what is impossible, in order to obtain all that human nature is capable of performing. As it is well known that he never pardons a non-compliance with his orders, and that he never admits of an excuse,

dread makes his servants perform miracles. His ordinary menace when he issues these supernatural orders is; "let my order be executed, or may the black serpent devour thine eyes." An oath of the Sultan, by the beard of Mahomet, would not produce the dread inspired by this terrible saying. It has always been the precursor of a death-warrant.

In his dominions he has organized a police unknown in the rest of Turkey; and to this he has directed the whole of his attention, because it is the most powerful means of preventing all attempts against himself. This police is not only severely and watchfully busied about the public safety, for Ali Pacha does not even spare the Klephtes, his ancient companions; but it enters into the interior of houses, superintends the conduct of the inhabitants, and its officers render in to Ali an exact account of the actions, conversations, and projects of all; in a word, of every thing that can interest or convey information to him. This police follows up the Greeks in all their relations at Constantinople, and discovers every step they are taking; so that Ali Pacha, informed of every thing they seek to effect, has sufficient time to frustrate their views. All the letters which leave his dominions are read by him or his agents before they are delivered to the courier who is to convey

them away. He pays no more regard to the dispatches of the official agents residing near him, and he opens them all, under a hope of finding out one which is not written in cypher. He does not respect foreign couriers, nor even those of his sovereign; and on the first complaint he throws off the blame from his own shoulders by causing some poor wretch to be hanged whom he had taken out of his prisons, or carried away from the country for some grudge or another. In 1807 he caused three couriers to be assassinated, of whom two were French, and he was extremely displeased in having only found letters in cypher upon them. His agents scattered in different parts, and the correspondence of the Greeks who are in his service, make him acquainted with the principal events passing in Europe, as well as the situation of the great powers. His own notions, and his information thus obtained, serve him as a thermometer for his political conduct, and make him decide on what connections he is to form with foreign states, for he is always anxious to have a point of support out of Turkey.

Ali Pacha has a great number of palaces and country seats. Some of them are the inheritance of his second wife, the rich widow of a Pacha, whom he espoused in order to enjoy her fortune, and afterwards confined to his harem,

where she died in obscurity. The others are the spoils of persons whom he has caused to perish or compelled to fly, and some have been built by himself. He is his own architect, upholsterer, and decorator; hence are his palaces the most brilliant assemblage of magnificence and bad taste. One traverses obscure hovels in order to arrive at magnificent saloons, in which velvet, gold, and embroidery are displayed in profusion, even on the floor. Gobelins tapestry, hung on a rod, sometimes serves in the place of doors; and pieces of embroidery in gold, half a yard wide, to which rich fringes are attached, are applied to cloths not worth six francs per yard. In each of these palaces, at the side of the richly ornamented saloon in which he gives audience, is a confused range of chambers and rooms, which serve for various purposes. Some of them are store-houses, in which he shuts up the furniture, effects, and utensils proceeding out of confiscations, pillage, and the exactions he had ordained. In 1807, when it was necessary to have cannons founded, 6000 weight of brass which was wanting was furnished in kitchen utensils out of these store-houses. It is he himself also, alone, who undertakes to keep an account of these articles, and holds the keys. When he wishes to furnish a house for any foreigner whom he treats favourably, or has taken

into his service, he himself goes there to look out the linen, pans, and kettles which he desires should be given to him : so much minuteness is certainly the effect of his extreme avarice. Notwithstanding he is almost exclusively given up to Socratic pleasures, and for this purpose keeps up a seraglio of youths, from among whom he selects his confidants, and even his principal officers, he has 5 or 600 women scattered about in various harems, the principal of which are at Joannina, Tepeleni, and Kerkalopoulo.

His revenues are very considerable, but it is impossible to estimate them with any degree of exactitude, because he follows no fixed rule in the repartition and collection of his imposts. All the provincial governors whom we have already enumerated, and are absolutely dependent on his will, levy imposts in the manner he ordains ; and of these he himself renders in the account to the Porte, pays to the Turkish government with exactitude what he owes it, and deposits the remainder in his own coffers, which frequently is one half of the sum total collected, and sometimes more. He moreover possesses the income of his own private domains, as well as of his numerous flocks, which amount to about 50,000 sheep. To these two branches of revenue it is necessary to add the produce of confiscations, exactions, arbitrary droits, fines,

and commutations of penalties, which being founded only on his own caprice, present no certain basis of valuation. On an average his revenue is estimated at 15,000,000 francs; but besides this revenue, which is destined to meet the expenses of his administration and military establishment, in which he acts with the greatest economy, he has great treasures hidden either at Tepeleni or in his castles at Joannina, of which it would be impossible to produce an estimate. All that is known on this subject is, that the sums which he thus holds in reserve are in Venetian gold.

He has likewise appropriated to himself all the precious stones and pearls of which he has obtained knowledge in the countries over which he has lorded, and has besides purchased a large quantity. He has also a numerous collection of watches and clocks of great value and of every form, as well as of gold and silver vases, and immense store-houses of goods. All that is valuable is under his own personal care, as well as his treasures shut up in subterraneous vaults, where no one enters but himself. For the current expenses of the state he has a treasurer, who in 1807 was one of his own nephews, and son to his sister, to whom he had given the district of Liebovo. But this treasurer is, in fact, no other than a paymaster, who each time



that a coffer is empty makes up his accounts to Ali before he receives the keys of another. For his own house he had a Jewish intendant, who was charged to collect the revenue of his private domains, and render to him the accounts.

Ali Pacha himself keeps his own general accounts from memory, and without any book, nor is he scarcely remembered to have committed any mistakes in the order for expenditure which he had given; but if such a thing did so happen, it was never to his own disadvantage. This manner of keeping accounts still opened to him another branch of revenue, which he does not neglect, and this is that of the taxes he calls by the name of restitutions, which he imposes on those who have, or have had, the management of money for his account; and of this his Jewish intendant, among others, felt the effects. One day when his son Mouktar Pacha stood in need of 100 bags, (100,000 francs,) as an advance on the entry of his own revenue, he demanded the sum from his father's intendant. Mouktar, a perfectly honest man, had always paid his debts with exactitude, and no one at Joannina would have refused to lend money to him. Nevertheless the Jew, either too avaricious or wrongfully distrustful, alleged as a pretext that he had no money, and refused to make the advance required. Mouktar complained

of this to his father, who called the intendant to his presence, and after reproaching him for such a want of confidence towards his son, said to him,—“ Listen, it is now twenty years that thou hast served me, and according to the calculation of my revenue, thou must have stolen from me at the rate of five bags per year ; thou shalt therefore instantly pay me 100 bags ;” and to this he added his ordinary saying, which never failed to impose ready obedience.

The military forces of Ali Pacha consist of several different elements, which prevents them from forming an uniform whole, and receiving a regular organization and discipline. The first, and those on which he places the greatest reliance, are levied by a species of conscription in his own particular domains, and amount to about 6,000 men. His vassals and the governors of the provinces dependant on him, are next obliged to furnish him on his first requisition with the number of soldiers he himself fixes, according to his wants ; and the pay of the soldiers sent to him by his direct vassals is at his own charge, but he takes care that the others are paid by the provinces whence they come. The corporations and districts of the Sandgiaks whose government he personally administers, are also obliged in time of war, or when he requires it, to supply him with troops. These are

the species of men he regards the least, because many of these districts are not well inclined towards him, and their soldiers serve him with ill will.

Finally, to complete his army he makes use of the plan of recruiting, and also takes into his own pay the troops of some of his mountaineer beys, who carry on the trade of chiefs of banditti, and hire themselves first to one Pacha and then to another; and it is among this class that are found those Arnauts scattered in all parts of the Ottoman empire. Generally in time of peace he only keeps up an army of 12 or 15,000 men, for the garrisons of his forts and the interior safety of the provinces; but he is able to have on foot an army of at least triple that number, and to maintain it a considerable time without the aid of the Porte. In 1807 he had 40,000 men under arms, distributed in the following manner:—In the Morea 10,000, with his son Veli, who stood in need of this force to sustain himself against the inhabitants of the country, who are sworn enemies of the Albanians and particularly of their new Sandgiak. In Lepanto, under his son Mouktar, he had 8000, of whom 5000 were destined to join the army of the Grand Vizir, at the camp of Playa, opposite to St. Maura. He had also 10,000 under the command of his brother Joussouf Bey;

and at Prevesa, 4000 more under the orders of his selictar.\* In the various strong places of the interior as well as operating against the Acarnanians, he had also a body of about 6000 men; and finally, he had raised another of 2000 Guegues or Dibrani, who were encamped for some time under the walls of Joannina, and whom he afterwards sent against Margariti. The Author, being at that time on the spot, can answer for the correctness of the above statement.

The payment of the troops he enrolls is not established and made in conformity to any uniform basis; it is the intrinsic value of the man, his experience and his courage, acknowledged by the various campaigns he has performed, which fix the quota he receives. Such an Albanian soldier is worth fifteen piastres per month; whereas his companion is not rated at more than eight or nine. This pay, however, may be established on an average of ten piastres per month, out of which the soldier furnishes his own arms and clothing; but with regard to the ammunition it is Ali Pacha who is obliged to supply it, because in general this article is

\* Selictar, or sword-bearer, is the name given to one of the grand officers of the empire, whose office corresponds to that of connetable in France. Each pacha with three tails, or vizir, is allowed one.—Tx.

scarce in the provinces of his dominions. The food which he furnishes to his soldiers, consists of only two pounds of the flour of Indian corn, or buck-wheat, of which they make a kind of cakes, together with a small quantity of vegetables. Notwithstanding this economy, Ali Pacha, in the campaign of 1807, having kept up at his own expense, during the space of ten months, the army which we have before enumerated, expended as much as 4,000,000 piastres, which, added to the expenses of provisions, carried his total disbursement in that branch alone to 6,000,000 piastres, or 12,000,000 francs, without calculating the military stores furnished him by France.

His artillery consists of about 200 pieces of cannon, existing in the strong places of Albania and the Epirus, without reckoning that of the fortresses of the other governments which he has left in the same state in which it was. His artillery is badly mounted, and still worse served; and the small number of pieces mounted on European carriages are situated in the *Kastron* of *Joannina*, and at *Litaritza*, the remainder being mounted on bad carriages, extremely unportable and half rotten. The Turkish artillerymen, both lazy and ignorant, are not susceptible of being taught; invincible prejudices, a deep rooted obstinacy in favour of their own

ancient customs, together with an insurmountable aversion for every thing that is labour or study, prevent the possibility of making any thing of them. If any other proofs were necessary than those which may be drawn from the known character of this nation, the Author might still add, that all the wishes and efforts of the French officers Ali Pacha had demanded for this purpose, as well as the decided will of the Vizir, who felt the incalculable advantage he should derive from the possession of a well organized artillery, were unable to produce any effect. Ali Pacha has indeed some field pieces which he received from the French government, but they are now shut up in his strong places. It was even impossible for him to derive any advantage from this species of artillery. The prejudices of the Turks, which do not allow them to use instruments for cleaning their pieces made out of hogs' bristles; their foolish dread of seeing the ammunition coffer blow up, which their want of care and dexterity renders extremely possible; their great laziness, which prevents them from pointing their piece unless in a sitting posture, and which convert the traces and all the other apparatus into objects of terror; all these united motives have compelled Ali to give up the use of field pieces. The only topidgi-bachi, or chief artilleryman,

injury to the remittances of this article into Turkey. The increase in the expenses of a more careful style of manufacture, together with the loss of between five and ten per cent. experienced by the proofs, compelled the merchants to raise their prices, and the Albanians ceased to purchase. It therefore became necessary to allow the manufacture of lower priced arms, entirely for the consumption of that country. The calibre of the muskets used by the Albanians is estimated according to the size of the ball, which is ordinarily from five to eight drachms short Venetian weight; each soldier chooses his musket according to his own whim, and is consequently obliged to make his own cartridges himself, or else to purchase them ready made. This was a branch of commerce resorted to by the Venetians, who sold in that country a great deal of gunpowder and balls of various sizes. This irregularity in the armament of his troops prevents Ali Pacha from being able to form regular supplies of stores in ready made cartridges, and cause them to follow his armies.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, to estimate with any degree of certainty the population of the countries governed by Ali Pacha. There is no fixed basis of census or enumeration, which can serve to establish a calculation of this

nature. The Ottoman government having imposed a tribute under the name *Karatch*, or capitation tax on the *Raias*, or tributary persons not being Mussulmans, the estimate of the population of this most numerous class of the Ottoman states, is usually established in the treasury registers of the empire, in conformity to the produce of this impost. No one, however, can fail easily to conceive what great obstacles are opposed to the exact distribution of the *Karatch*. Two causes tending to a contrary result are opposed to each other, and concur to render the produce uncertain, arbitrary, and disproportioned to the exact amount of the population, which ought to serve as the basis. The first is the natural resistance of the *Raias*, who, through personal interest and national hatred, seek to lessen their number in order to diminish the impost. The second is the spirit of rapacity so congenial to the Turkish agents, who endeavour to collect the *Karatch* from the natives even when absent, and who frequently for several years continue the same names on the lists of assessments. The excessive laziness of the *Osmanlis* prevents them from keeping exact check-rolls in each canton, and setting down the changes from one year to the other; whence the exaction of the *Karatch* always ex-



cites discussions between the collector, who insists on the increase of births, and the tributaries, who persist in a diminution on account of the deceased and absent.

In general these contentions end in an impost in mass, which the tributary subjects afterwards divide among themselves. Such a town usually paid the Karatch for 10,000 souls, when, by a present made to the collector, it is now perhaps only rated at 9000, or, in the reverse, through an arbitrary act it possibly may be assessed at 12,000. The latter is the case of almost all the cantons depending on Ali Pacha. It may with certainty be established, that every canton which he favours, or is in any way independent of his oppressions, in its returns is rated below its real population; whereas the contrary happens in those places where he governs in an absolute manner, or which he has in view to punish.

With regard to the Mussulman subjects, it is still more difficult to ascertain their exact number; because, being exempt from all domiciliary visits, the registers of the Cadis, that is when they have any, do not contain more than voluntary declarations or nominal returns; whence, as the Mussulmans have no Karatch to pay, and their vanity leads them to exaggerate the

number of the members of their families, particularly of their children, their population is thus liable to be over-rated.

After a long residence at Joannina and a research performed with all the industry and sagacity of an enlightened mind, and at the same time accompanied with every possible precaution to avoid error, Mr. Pouqueville, the French Consul General in Albania, has conceived that the population of the dominions of Ali Pacha, that is, of the Sandgiaks of Joannina, Karli-Ili, Trikala, Ochrida, Kapudan-Pacha, Delvino, and the cantons of Avlona and Egribos, of which he is governor, might be rated at 1,500,000 souls. The author who resided for the space of a year in this quarter, and travelled over the country in several directions, is of opinion that this amount is by no means above the truth. The Morea, which is not included in the above calculation, does not at present contain more than 450,000 souls; and the Sandgiak of Lepanto is very thinly peopled. As a further illustration to this part of our subject, we shall subjoin the population of the principal cities and towns belonging to Ali Pacha, or the vizirship of Berat, which have not hitherto been established by existing geographers.

Arta, 10,000; Argiro-Kastro, 12,000; Alatisa, 4,500; Berat, 12,000; Czataldza, 3,000;

Delvino, 8000; Elbassan, 6000; Kastoria, 12,000; Katrin, 1500; Lariisa, 20,000; Livadi, 10,000; Margariti, 6000; Metzovo, 7000; Monastir, 15,000; Ochrida, 6000; Platamona, 2000; Paramithia, 8000; Pharsalia, 3500; Tri-kala, 8000; Turnovo, 3000; Volo, 3000; Zeitoun, 3000.

What has already been said of the character of Ali Pacha, as well as of his boundless ambition and the line of political conduct which has tended to his successive aggrandizement, may have already furnished the reader with some idea of his views on the Ionian Islands. His constant project, to the execution of which he proceeds onwards with patience and indefatigable activity, notwithstanding he has hitherto been unable to foresee the exact moment of its accomplishment, is the independence and entire separation of his dominions from the Ottoman empire. It is under this view that he has uniformly endeavoured to enter into correspondence and hold connections with the other European states, and has changed his relations each time that the situation of the powers to whom he was attached altered with regard to himself or Turkey. In order to secure to himself the possession of his continental dominions, by completing the reduction of the clans still independent of his authority, as well as to con-

solidate his power and sustain himself alone, he stands in need of the Ionian Islands, and they have always constituted the object, more or less secret, of his wishes. In 1800, he had a favourable opportunity to remove from the Continent a power which had constantly thwarted him, and to open to himself access to the Adriatic Sea, from which he had been almost excluded, or at least very much restrained. Of this he hastened to avail himself by seizing, as we have previously noticed, on the Ionian towns of the main-land. The presence of the Russian and Ottoman forces prevented him from going any further, and the treaty of 1800 even placed obstacles in his way, by preventing him from holding garrisons in the above towns which were only to be tributary, and where originally he was allowed no other than a civil governor. But he had already made away with the principal inhabitants, as well as those whom he believed could obstruct his views. At Prevesa alone he caused 130 heads to be cut off in one day, and he had the means of entering into the town whenever he wished; and indeed in 1805 he watched a favourable opportunity, and established a garrison there. The retreat of the Russian troops appeared to place the Ionian Islands at his disposal, and at that time if he had only been possessed of a navy, or had

thought that he was able to take Corfu and St. Maura by a *coup de main*, he certainly would have obtained possession of them. He afterwards sought, as we have already had occasion to notice, through his intrigues to have an opportunity of setting his foot there, and in fact his credit at Constantinople, supported by his gold, was on the point of obtaining for him the order that was to make him master of Ionia, when he was forestalled by Russia, and his projects defeated. The pique which he then experienced, was the sole cause of his animosity towards the Russians, and he only allied himself to France under a hope of finding her more favourable to his views.

It was more particularly in 1807 that he conceived himself on the eve of seeing his wishes accomplished. The succours furnished to him by France, the consideration with which he was treated, and which seemed to place him on a level with crowned heads, completely dazzled him, and he imagined he had acquired weight and credit in the political balance of Europe. He was aware that a diversion on his part was useful to the French army of Dalmatia, in recalling the attention of the Russian Generals to Corfu, and to this he lent himself with apparent good faith. But as in his eyes no service ought to remain without its due recompense, and he

rated his own extremely high, he believed that the French government could no longer refuse to him the possession of the Ionian Islands; and he did not withhold this as a secret from the agents of the latter power, but pretended that it was only consistent with justice to grant his demand. He did not fear to advance that the cession he required was even conformable to the interests of France, by securing to her a powerful ally in the Mediterranean.

The reception his envoy, Mehemet Effendi, met with at Warsaw, and which possibly he exaggerated in order to gain the good will of his master, tended to confirm Ali in the opinion that it was the Emperor Napoleon's intention to raise him still higher and consolidate his power. He then no longer kept his projects and hopes under the veil of secrecy, and his courtiers and confidential agents spoke of him in no other light than as the future king of the Greeks. He caused the victories of the French army to be published and even exaggerated. He caused a courier to arrive from Constantinople, which announced the supposed capture of Riga, Revel, and Narva, an approaching peace, and the abandonment of the Seven Islands by the Russians; secretly it was also added that an independent kingdom was about to be constituted in Greece, and that with it Ali was to be

invested. However, having learned through his envoy that the negotiations for peace had been opened at Tilsit, he was unable to divest himself of anxiety, and did not cease asking the French agents a thousand captious questions, and sounding them through his confidential agents, for the purpose of penetrating the purport of their instructions, and knowing what they contained with regard to the Ionian Islands.

As soon, however, as he understood the real stipulations of the treaty, and was informed of the arrival of a French Governor and troops at Corfu, he was scarcely able to conceal his anger, and was even on the point of breaking out into open hostilities. He reproached, and caused his confidential servants to reproach, the French agents with the ingratitude and perfidy of their government, which he asserted had made promises to him which they no longer intended to perform. The communications with Corfu became nearly as difficult as they had been in time of war, and he applied himself in a particular manner to prevent the Septinsulars and the French garrison from obtaining on the continent the fire-wood and the other necessities which the Islands do not afford. As soon as a British fleet again appeared in the Ionian seas, and began to blockade Corfu and to attack the other islands, he entertained a hope that England

would avail herself of him in order to effect their conquest, or that he should at least be able to occupy St. Maura, which he was in a state to besiege from the continent, though most assuredly he never could have taken it. His hopes were however defeated, and the peace which has now guaranteed afresh the existence of the Ionian republic ought to have proved to him the inutility of his projects. We shall see by the conduct he may hereafter observe what sentiments the above event has produced in him, and what influence his hopes of the future, which he still retains, may have on his relations with the Seven Islands. Will he at length become the sincere friend of the power occupying the Ionian Islands, a circumstance so contrary to the avowed principles and practice of his past conduct?

Amidst his projects of aggrandizement, and the plans which he forms and seeks to execute as means of consolidating his power, he is not, however, altogether at ease respecting the fate that will befall the dominions he governs after his death. He apprehends that the hatred and intrigues of the Greeks will disturb the quiet of his children; and he equally dreads the fatal consequences their own dissensions may produce. On this head the marked difference of their characters inspires him with the most in-



auspicious presages. Mouktar, the eldest, is brave, generous, and upright ; he loves the arts and sciences, and his intercourse with Euphrosina had considerably tended to the polish of his mind. Yet war is his habitual element and favourite passion ; and when he is unable to give himself up to this occupation, he devotes his time to hunting. Simple in his dress, sober even to frugality, and hardy in his habits, he travels over the mountains on foot in his hunting excursions ; he fares on simple bread and water without complaint ; he cares not if he lays hardly ; and in the camp he is in the midst of his soldiers, and sleeps on the ground wrapped up in a coarse Albanian cloak. Faithful in fulfilling his engagements, there is no one in Ali's dominions who does not hasten at his first request to furnish what he wishes : he returns it scrupulously at the term prefixed, frequently adds a recompense, and always obliging expressions. When he departed for Lepanto, 15 days before-hand he caused it to be published by the sound of trumpet, that every one who had any claims against him which he might have forgotten was to recur to him in order to receive payment. He settled his accounts with all ; and one of his creditors, at that time absent from Joannina, having met him on the road, he caused his suite to stop whilst he reimbursed him. The

severity and honesty of Mouktar's principles render him cold, though respectful, towards his father, and make him despise his brother, whom he treats as a dishonest, debauched, and dissipated character. Ali, on his side, is not much attached to him, and even fears him; but in return he is beloved and esteemed by the Greeks, and cherished and respected by the Albanians.

Veli, Ali Pacha's second son, possesses many of the characteristic traits of his father. Like him he is avaricious, ambitious, dissembling, and distrustful. He is also equally addicted to rapine, and extremely unfaithful in complying with his engagements; but he is very far from being possessed of the same facilities of borrowing money as his brother, notwithstanding he more frequently stands in need. He is fond of luxury and magnificence; the sumptuousness of his garments, the richness of his furniture, and the care of his toilet, are to him wants, and even serious occupations. His conduct is marked by an effeminate softness, and he is greatly addicted to pleasure and debauch. Prodigal even to dissipation when he seeks to comply with his whims or caprice, he is always under a load of debt, and he pays his servants little and ill. He has a decided taste for the usages and the freedom of European manners, and passionately desires to have a theatre at his own disposal. Veli

one day asked the French Consul General, pointing out to him the principal mosque at Joannina, whether it would be sufficiently large to be converted into a theatre, on the model of those of Italy. He would have been extremely glad to travel in Europe, to appear at the different courts as a rich and powerful prince, and to be able to study European manners at his own leisure. In such an excursion he promised to himself new enjoyments. He made the proposal to his father, and even insisted on its political utility. But Ali Pacha, who knew his propensities to dissipation, and who calculated that it would be necessary to sacrifice some millions of piastres, absolutely refused his consent. Veli, however, is not devoid of courage; and his conduct during the last war with Russia enabled him to gain both praise and consideration. He is extremely jealous of his brother, and does not appear disposed, notwithstanding he is the eldest, to allow Mouktar to remain in peaceful possession of Joannina after his father's death. Ali, on his part, loves Veli better than his eldest son; but with regard to him he is not the less distrustful.

The situation of Veli Pacha has, however, of late years experienced a great variation. At the issue of the last war against Russia, in which he distinguished himself with honour, he was

deprived of the vizirship of the Morea, which was given by Sultan Mahmoud to a Turk of Constantinople named Achmet Pacha. The pretext alleged for this deposition was the complaints addressed to the seat of government by the inhabitants. But as Ali Pacha expressed no displeasure at the event, as his credit near the Porte is not diminished, and as Achmet was one of his own creatures, and one of his agents near the Divan, it is not difficult to perceive that this change originated in himself, and that the true motive proceeded from the jealousy he nourishes even against his own children. Veli was too powerful in Morea to be submissive to him, and the care he took to protect the inhabitants of the country, and to gain their affections, made his father apprehensive that he wished to render himself independent of his will. Achmet Pacha, a fanatic Turk and an unlettered man, is much easier controlled, and the Morea is still in reality under the dependence of Ali. In fact the latter has since caused the deposition of his son to serve one of his own political ends. The city of Larissa, although dependent on the Sandgiak of Trikala, accustomed to have a particular governor selected from among its Beys, had never consented to receive Ali within its walls, and only obeyed him by halves. The Diyan itself kept up this

misunderstanding, and had never granted to Ali a *firman* for this particular point. In causing his son to be named by the Sultan Governor of Larissa, he had the gates of the city opened to him, and the Beys have been compelled to bend to his authority, supported by the will of the Sovereign.

Sally Bey, the third brother, is a child that has scarcely left the harem. He has a handsome person, and seems possessed of a mild character. At present all that can be said of him is, that he is the real favourite of Ali, because hitherto he has not become an object of dread or jealousy to him.



## CHAPTER IX.

*Interior Situation of the Dominions of Ali Pacha.—History of the Souliots.—The Chiamariots.—Albanian Dress and Soldiers.—Manners and Character of the Albanians.—Tchinguenes, or Gipsies.—Albanian Language.—Climate.—Productions.—Commerce.—Character and Manners of the Epirots and Continental Greeks.—State of the Morea.—Character and Manners of its Inhabitants.—Misfortunes this Country experienced in 1770.—Productions and Commerce.*

**T**HE interior of the dominions of Ali Pacha still exhibits the traces of the convulsive partitions by which they were formed, and manifests that want of union existing between heterogeneous parts which an external power had joined one to the other without any consideration to their relations, interests, or even their habits. They may be viewed in the light of an aggregation of provinces in themselves possessed of different interests; of an assemblage of separate parts which hitherto nothing leads towards one

common object. The Morea detests the yoke she bears ; and, hating the Albanians even to execration since the massacres of 1770, she is always ready to rise up in revolt whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. The districts of the Sandgiak of Egribos, apparently governed in the name of the Porte, but in fact under the sway and despotic rod of Ali, can experience no other than disadvantageous effects from this mixed government, which exposes them to all kinds of vexations, without affording them any certain protection. Thessaly, whose Beys were formerly accustomed to live in a manner almost independent under the government of the Sandgiak of Trikala, and who were satisfied with merely enriching themselves, endures with impatience so heavy a yoke as that of Ali ; and the resistance which the city of Larissa opposes to him, being the asylum of all those he has proscribed and despoiled of their property, is a testimony of the hatred the Thessalonians bear towards him. The province of Joannina, the one most directly trampled upon by Ali Pacha, regrets even the anarchy in which it was under the twenty-two Beys to whom it was formerly subservient, who sometimes gave rise to troubles and inquietude, but did not expose it to those continual spoliations and vexations which now compel the inhabitants to live with

all the exterior of poverty, in order not to incur the risk of being stripped of their property or deprived of their lives.

Acarnania, inhabited by Greeks whose poverty obliges them to seek in the pillage of the neighbouring provinces the means of subsistence, and whom their hatred against Ali Pacha preferably impels to attack his property, has hitherto resisted his subjection. The districts of Klissoura, Premiti, and Argiro-Kastro, and the pachalics of Delvino and Arta are not more devoted to him. The cantons of Macedonia, now subject to him have not forgotten the sack-ing of Monastir, and the grievances they experienced from Ali in the capacity of dervendgi-pacha. The only effect the government of this vizir has produced for them has been obstacles to their ancient and habitual relations with Salonica. In the centre of his dominions he lives in almost a constant state of warfare with the people of Margariti, Tzamouri, and Chimara, and he is exposed to the frequent inroads of the Acarnanians and Souliots, who sometimes come to the very gates of his capital. Hereafter we shall enter into the history of the Souliots. In a word, if Ali Pacha ceased to live, his death would become the signal for an universal convulsion; and even now a momentous defeat would suffice to bring upon him irretrievable



ruin. Surrounded by enemies, even within his own capital, nothing but the dread he inspires, and the resources of his policy, retain under his yoke clans and people at all times ripe for revolt. The district of Tepeleni alone is faithful to him, wherefore has he chosen it for his last retreat, and there secreted the greatest part of his treasures.

It may perhaps appear astonishing that in so critical a situation, and encompassed by so many dangers, Ali Pácha has been able to maintain himself in peace, without experiencing a shock, nor indeed any revolt of importance. His character, however, and his policy furnish him with the means of retaining his subjects in their duty, even when the vigilance of his police, together with his own, had been unable to prevent the growth of an insurrection. The first has made known in all countries he governs the promptitude and implacability, as well as the atrocity, of his vengeance; this by every one is considered infallible and inevitable, and each one trembles to draw it down on himself. The second is the same policy he employs towards his domestics, and all those who approach him or fill places of confidence; and this is, that of holding hostages from every person whom he judges, through their credit, riches, or talents, may become dangerous to him. He retains in his power their wives and children; and these innocent victims

would have to expiate, under the most dreadful executions, the smallest crime he might have to impute to the head of their family.

It is in this manner that he secures to himself the fidelity of his military chiefs; those of the Guegues are the only ones who have refused to consent to this condition, and hence did he send them back to their homes as soon as was possible. During the war of 1807 this critical and dangerous position did not escape the penetration of Ali Pacha, and he was perfectly aware of all the ills which the chiefs of the Russian troops in the Seven Islands, as well as the minister of the latter power, might have occasioned to him, if they had united activity and vigour in their conduct, and known how to avail themselves of the means they possessed. The smallest movement of the Tziamides, or the simple report of the Russians landing at Parga or in Acarnania, then gave him the greatest inquietude. Those he most feared, however, were the Chimariots and the other Greek Albanians in the service of Russia, and particularly the Souliots. They were, in fact, his most inveterate enemies, because they had to avenge a most atrocious war and the destruction of their country.

The country of Souli, situated, as we have already noticed, in an inclosed valley of the upper

part of a river which takes its rise in the southern declivity of the Cassiopian mountains, and falls into the sea at port Phanari, supported itself in a state of independence till the year 1786. It was at this period that Ali Pacha, having subjected to his arms all the bed of the Chelydnus, with the exception of Argiro-Kastro, and advanced as far as the gates of Joannina and Arta, began to think of invading the Epirus. The presence of these republicans obstructed his projects on Arta, and served as a point of support to Moustapha, Pacha of Delvino, whose father he had just assassinated, but whose subjects had driven him from their city. The canton of Souli, besides being the capital, contains 18 villages, of which five are situated in the southern and less difficult part of the valley towards Louro, and the 13 others in the upper part, more inaccessible, rugged, and filled with defiles. The inclosed valley of Souli is only accessible by its southern and western borders, where the Paramithia road opens, the only practicable one by which it is possible to approach. This entrance is a narrow and difficult defile, called the neck of Skouitias, (το στενον της Σκουιτίας,) leading to the village of this name situated in the valley itself. After passing Skouitias, we arrive at Klissoura, a post extremely strong, seated on the river Souli, and which is the key

of the whole valley. To the S. of Klissoura is the large village of Navarikos, or Tripia, on a rugged and steep elevation; and nearly opposite, on another eminence, is Kiapha. After passing Klissoura, the road crosses the river, and proceeds along the foot of the post of Tichos, situated on a rock easily defended, and which it is necessary to take before it is possible to proceed onwards. After leaving Tichos we ascend to Samonitza, and still higher up is found the small town of Kako-Souli, or Mega-Souli, which was formerly the capital of the republic. In the extreme upper part of the valley, among the Cassiopian mountains, and on steep and rugged rocks, were the posts of Laka and Agia-Paraskevi, which crowned and commanded all the other positions. The other villages of any importance in this country were Tzagari, Perichati, Vounon-Zavrouchon, Panagia-tou-Glikeos, and Milos.

On being attacked by Ali Pacha, the Souliots defended themselves with the greatest courage, and frequently with success, notwithstanding the disproportion of their forces. Till the year 1789 the war which Ali Pacha carried on against them consisted only of attempts to surprize their positions, and these were principally directed against the villages situated in the southern part of the valley; and the campaign Ali was at that

time obliged to undertake against the Russians afforded the Souliots a degree of respite. On his return, however, having obtained the Sandgiak of Trikala and seized on Joannina, the increase of his power and forces furnished him with the means of pushing the war against these secluded republicans with greater vigour. He employed even as many as 25,000 men against them, though they themselves were never able to assemble more than 6,000 under arms. The Souliots nevertheless defended their country and their homes with equal and persevering bravery, and caused the war to last fourteen years. During this time Ali Pacha frequently experienced great losses, and more than once, from the windows of his own palace, he beheld the country round his capital ravaged by the warriors of this new Messena. A young Amazon, named Cheitha, who had lost her husband in battle, and had seen her children massacred almost under her own eyes, of all the chiefs of Souli was the one who did the most injury to Ali Pacha. Frequently she carried fire and sword under the very walls of Joannina, and every thing fled before her. This heroine, having escaped from the disasters of her country up to the year 1806, commanded at Corfu a battalion of Souliots in the service of Russia, with the rank of Major. At this period she retired

to the canton of Lefchimo, and there again married. She was then only 30 years of age, and was still possessed of great beauty.

In 1796 Ali Pacha hitherto had been able to take only the lower villages of the valley, which, situated without the almost inaccessible neck closed in by the post of Tichos, form a species of exterior inclosure. At length at the commencement of 1800, uniting his whole forces against these proud and hardy republicans, worthy of a better fate, he caused all the defiles and paths leading to them to be shut in by sixty-four towers built of hard stone, and which were all constructed in one night. These towers were in a short time covered by sixteen small forts or redoubts, each capable of containing from four to five hundred men, and serving to support the troops he employed in this difficult warfare, now converted into a species of regular siege. Having in this manner deprived the Souliots of all possibility of effecting sorties, he successively attacked each post with a body of troops surpassing the population of the whole clan. The Souliots, driven from post to post, were at length, in the month of October, shut up in Mega-Souli, Laka, and Agia-Paraskevi, in want of provisions and devoid of all kinds of resource. At the commencement of November the Caloyer (monk)

Samuel, the chief of the republic, proposed a capitulation, through the means of which, shutting himself up in Agia-Paraskevi with five or six hundred brave followers, the population then concentrated in Mega-Souli and Laka obtained permission to retire to Parga. This population consisted of about 2000 combatants, besides women, children, and the old men who had been able to escape from massacre.

During the eight months this regular siege had lasted, more than one half of the Souliot clan had perished, as well as more than 20,000 Albanians. Ali Pacha, who was desirous of exterminating the whole clan, violated the capitulation, and caused the column to be attacked that was retiring to Parga. But the brave Souliots formed themselves into a square battalion, in the centre of which they placed their families, and opened their way through the line of their aggressors, to whom this perfidy cost more than 1000 men. Some days afterwards, when Samuel was informed that the greatest part of his nation was safe, he capitulated under the same conditions. The garrison commenced its march, and he himself remained with four brave men, whose names are not preserved to history, in order to deliver up the stores and ammunition which were lodged in the subterraneous vaults of the fortress. Having delayed this

delivery for some hours, he at length entered into the vaults together with his companions, two chiefs delegated by Ali, and a great number of Albanians. There, resolved not to survive the ruin and future oppression of his country, this hero, worthy of the happier days of Greece, blew himself up. The Albanians, irritated at this trait of desperation, which cost them the lives of more than 200 of their own, ran in haste to the number of 5000 to attack the garrison which had not yet arrived at Parga; but it was in vain, they were again repelled. Ali Pacha caused the fallen towers to be rebuilt, the cisterns to be dug a fresh, and established palisades; in a word, he fortified these rocks, keeps up a garrison there, and considers this point as one of the principal bulwarks of his dominions. Thus perished a republic which the whole power of the Ottoman empire before had been unable to subject, and which was so terrible to Ali Pacha, that to this day the very name of the Souliots makes him turn pale. The Souliots capable of bearing arms united themselves to the inhabitants of Agioi-Saranda and the other Greek towns destroyed by Ali Pacha, and all together formed the basis of the Albanian legion which was in the service of Russia and France.

The Chimariots have been more fortunate.



Equally independent as the Souliots had been; notwithstanding the tribute they paid to the Vizir of Berat, as the former dependents on the Sandgiak of Avlona whom this Vizir had succeeded, they had sustained themselves against all the attempts made by Ali Pacha to effect a lodgment among them. The geographical position of their country, and the protection of the kingdom of Naples, in whose service they kept up troops, as well as in that of the Septinsular republic, which also availed itself of their aid and co-operation in case of need, are the motives which have most powerfully contributed to frustrate the views of Ali, and to prevent him from openly uniting his whole forces against them. Covered on the N. and S. by the destruction of the roads leading to their country, in the place of which they have left no other than narrow paths guarded by fortified posts, they had besides entrenched and strongly manned the only defile opening to the W. of their country, by which it is possible to reach the valley of the Chelydrius, after crossing the Acroceraunian mountains. Ali Pacha is only in a situation to attack them by sea, and for this he requires a stronger navy than good policy would allow him to possess; since a surprise on the coast would be impossible, so well is it guarded on the three or four points where a landing can be attempted. He

might possibly attack them with greater facility by Avlona, availing himself of the Dukatis, their enemies; but he fears the Vizir of Berat, his rival and secret enemy.

The latter Vizir has as much interest in sustaining the Chimariots and in preserving harmony and a good understanding with the Ionian republic, as Ali may have in a contrary sense. Besides the motives dictated by his ambition, Ali Pacha is further impelled by the two latter to hate Ibrahim, and to seek to destroy him. He dares not attack him openly, because the Vizir of Berat, in this case, would be sure to receive the support of that of Skutari, and a shock so severe, by awakening the attention of the Porte, might bring down total ruin upon him. He however has endeavoured to succeed by stratagem. At the end of 1807 he attempted to surprise Elbassan, confident that if he was once master of that place, as he already was of Ochrida, it would be an easy undertaking to expel Ibrahim from Berat. He therefore endeavoured to effect the entry of a number of disarmed soldiers into Elbassan, as well as chests of arms on mules' backs, but his project was discovered and his soldiers cut to pièces. He then turned round in a hasty manner on Chimara, and with a body of 6000 men attempted to force the defile of the Acroceraunian moun-

tains. The Chimariots were not under arms, and at this post no other than a guard of 300 men had been established. Nevertheless this handful of brave men, more fortunate than Leonidas and his patriots, defeated their aggressors and forced them to retire, after losing 1500 men, in great measure beat down under the trees and rocks which had been prepared for the defence of this new Thermopylæ.

In our geographical outline we have already had occasion to remark that Albania extends to the S. as far as the other side of the mountains of Souli, thus comprising the greatest part of the ancient Epirus. This people, who in every thing differ from the Greeks and Ottomans, may within themselves be divided into two great clans. The one which stretches from the rivers Bojana and Moraccia, as far as the Stirnatza or *Panyasus*; an extent comprehending the vizirship of Skutari, may be called the Albano-Illyrian clan, because the people inhabiting it are a mixture of Illyrians and of Slavonian colonies who came to establish themselves in that country. The other, which takes in the vizirship of Berat, part of that of Joannina, and the Sandgiak of Delvino, may be called Albano-Epirotian, or Greek, because the people dwelling in that range of country, are originally Epirots or Greeks, from colonies of

the Adriatic. These two great tribes or clans, possessed of an uniform language and nearly similar habits, differ considerably in their manners and character. Whilst the Illyrian Albanian is wild and unpolished, the Epirotian one is comparatively advanced towards civilization. As more immediately connected with the subject, we shall proceed to give a descriptive sketch of the latter.

The Albanians have in general, preserved the military dress of the Romans. They wear a tunic held together by a sash or girdle, which at the same time bears their pistols, poniard, and two small cartridge-boxes filled with ammunition; a coat of mail without sleeves, on which galloons and embroidery have taken the place of iron network; a species of Doliman or hussar's jacket, which is pendant and not fastened before; a large cloak without sleeves, which they wear at all times; a pair of narrow pantaloons, something similar to the *Caracallæ*,\* introduced during the middle ages among the Roman military, and which are partly covered by the tunic; buskins, similar to those seen in ancient monu-

\* *Caracallæ* were a species of pantaloons used by the Germans and Gauls. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son of Septimius Severus, was the first who wore them, and introduced them into the armies. It is from this circumstance that he was surnamed *Caracalla*.—TR.

ments representing Roman soldiers, tied to the pantaloons by a leather strap, to which hang three ornaments formed into bunches out of gilt silver. Their head-dress consists of a red skull-cap, generally enveloped with a shawl more or less rich, in the form of a turban, and which at the same time serves for the purposes of a knapsack, a handkerchief, and nightcap.

The Albanian soldiers, accustomed to the cold temperature of their mountains, and dressed in a cloak of some considerable thickness, dread neither cold nor heat, which they equally withstand without changing their cloaths. In the winter wrapped up in their cloaks, and in the summer extended upon them, they sleep on the hard ground; they seldom take pains to construct barracks for themselves, and still more rarely make use of tents. They are extremely sober; and their military ration, consisting of two pounds of flour of maize, wheat, or buckwheat, and this frequently reduced to one-half, is sufficient for them, with a few black olives or pilchards, which they purchase out of their pay, of which they are extremely economical. They rarely receive meat, and still more so, wine. With the exception of some rich beys, who dress with a certain degree of elegance, the Albanian soldiers are in general meanly clad. They wear their clothes till they fall to pieces in

rags, and a dirty tunic is among them a sign of bravery. They are more active than the Osmanlis, or original Turks, among whom they enjoy such renown, that there is not a pacha of any consequence who is not desirous of having some of these Arnauts\* in his pay. They are in general brave and ready to run to danger, and the fear of death makes no impression upon them. Amidst a number of examples tending to corroborate this assertion, the Author will only quote one fact which happened in his own presence. An individual of the Liapis clan, being condemned to death, was brought out to be conveyed to the place of execution, which was situated without the walls of Prevesa. Being arrived about midway, he passed by a large fig-tree,—“Why,” said he to those who conducted him, “do you wish me to travel half a league further in the hottest part of the day? Can’t you hang me here?”—This favour was granted him, and he himself put the rope about his own neck. A few hours afterwards, another

\* The Albanians among the Ottoman troops are known by no other name than that of Arnauts, which is, as before noticed, the one they themselves bear in their own language. The Arnaut soldiers are at present more esteemed than the Janissaries, and these auxiliary troops are furnished by the beys of Albania, who recruit men and carry on the trade of banditti.—Tn.

Liapis passed by the same place, and seeing that the clothes of the deceased were better than his own, with the greatest indifference he began to undress him, and exchanged them for his own rags.

The Albanian soldiers, however, have the defect of being vain and presumptuous, of exaggerating the recital of their own feats, and even frequently of boasting of imaginary victories. The title of honour in which they take the greatest pride is that of *Palikari*, which signifies brave. With regard to the tributary and disarmed Greeks, they take delight in calling them by the appellation of *Moré*, which is synonymous with *Moros* (foolish). In their expeditions they have no idea of regular discipline, and even do not know what it is to be placed in rank and file. Each troop collects around its respective chief, and fights separately from its neighbouring one. They usually enter into battle with shrieks and reproaches, in which they delight, something like the heroes of Homer, and then the fire commences entirely at the will of the soldiers. After the battle has lasted for some time, a suspension of arms usually takes place, when the invectives and reproaches again commence; successively afterwards the engagement is resumed, and if at the expiration of some time neither party has been compelled to

retreat, they come to close quarters and make use of their atagans and sabres. Their marches are equally as disorderly as their order of battle, and frequently a column of 6000 men occupies a space of ground equal to five or six leagues. The usual arms of the Albanians are two pistols which they carry in their sash or girdle; an atagan, or a species of cutlass slightly bent forwards, the cutting part of which is in the concavity and something resembling the *Harpion* of the ancient Greeks; a sabre, bent backwards, hung to a belt and placed horizontally; and also a long musket, of the calibre of from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an ounce.

The fine arts are unknown among the Albanians, and the mechanical arts are generally exercised by foreigners. There is, indeed, an university at Joannina, as well as some learned professors, but it is only frequented by Greeks. The three exclusive professions of the Albanians are those of shepherd, agriculturalist, and warrior. There is still a fourth which might be added, since they follow it as much as the other three, and this is that of robber. This trade is to them a kind of schooling in the art of war, whence the name of *Klephtes* or robber is by no means a reproach among them, and the most celebrated chiefs of banditti are sure to make their fortunes and arrive at honours, in testimony of which we have Ali Pacha. This idea



is so deeply imprinted among them, and the examples are so frequent, that an Albanian of this class, when asked what occupation he follows, will gravely answer, *ἡμᾶς ἔγω Κλεφτης*, I am a robber. This custom is not, however, general in all the cantons of Southern Albania. The Liapis, indeed, scarcely follow any other calling, but the Philates have very few banditti among them. The Zagoriats, successors of the Pelagonians, and who have voluntarily submitted to the Pachas of Joannina, know nothing of brigandage. Mild and hospitable, they have preserved the rigorous manners and character of the ancient Greeks; but, although the fierce and unfeeling qualities noticed among the other Albanians have disappeared from among them, they are not the less brave.

The Albanians usually inhabit houses with only one floor in the country, and two in the towns. Their construction and distribution are extremely simple. In the villages their houses, built of blocks or fragments of marble so abundant in their mountains, have only the four principal walls, the interior compartments, when there are any, being formed by thin wainscot partitions. Their only furniture consists of a coffer and some mats on which they sit and lie down to rest, and their extreme sobriety reduces their household utensils to a very small number.

In the towns the lower story is built of stone, on the level ground, almost without any foundations, and serves as a cellar or warehouse, and the upper story is constructed of wood; but here their furniture is more select, and they even begin to have a taste for luxury.

The Albanians are extremely frugal, and live in as simple a manner in their houses as they do in the camp. Milk, cheese made out of ewes' milk and extremely salt, bad butter and always in a liquid state, very little meat, black olives, salt fish, and eggs, constitute their ordinary food. They never eat meat unless roasted, and are in the habits of dressing their sheep in an entire state. They never make use of beef, and even the Christians seldom eat pork, which is extremely rare among them. They do not make great use of bread, but when they do, it is unleavened and baked under the ashes; but in place of it they eat thick gruel made of the flour of wheat, buck-wheat, or maize. When on the road, they are still more abstemious than in their own houses. They carry with them nothing more than a little flour or rice, some olives, or a small quantity of cheese, and this sparing provision is sufficient. The inhabitants of the towns have, however, partly adopted the Greek mode of living, and make

use of more delicate dishes. Wine, which is extremely good in the Epirus, is in general use; the Mussulmans do not abstain from it more than the Christians, and more drunkards are not found among one class than the other. Even Ali Pacha, notwithstanding the zeal he affects for his religion, does not refuse to drink wine, though in a moderate manner; and to avoid scandal he has caused it to be prescribed for him by his physician, and from time to time he has the prescription renewed.

The Albanians have an extreme passion for music, and this is so general, that not a troop of soldiers is to be met with that is not provided with its mandoline and singer. As soon as the Albanian has finished his work, he begins to play and sing; and if he is in the camp and without provisions, he allays his appetite and forgets his wants and hardships by this diversion. He is, at the same time, the composer of his own verses and notes; and, if the metre is uneven and the song unmeaning, the music in general is not much better. This consists of a repetition of monotonous sounds, which they draw forth by striking at random an uncouth mandoline with their fingers, and accompanying these sounds with a rough or howling voice. Their fondness for the dance is equally as strong

as their passion for music, but their execution of the one is not less uncouth than that of the other.

The Albanian shepherds in general, and particularly those who have charge of Ali Pacha's numerous flocks, change their district according to the season of the year. The sterility of their mountains, which produce nothing but forests or pasturage, causes their flocks to constitute one of the principal branches of their fortunes, and a great number of persons among them have no other riches. In the winter the flocks pasture and fold on the sea-side, in the vicinity of the gulf of Arta, and in some parts of Acarnania. At the approach of spring they are again led back to the foot of Mount Tzoumerkia, Mertzika, and the Pindus. In the month of June they are conducted down to the plain of Joannina, or into the valleys, for the purpose of being shorn, and this operation constitutes one of their principal feasts. After the shearing-season the flocks pass the remainder of the summer on the heights of the above mountains, and at autumn are driven on Mounts Cassiope, Olichinio, and the Little Pindus. In the cantons, where vegetation is more abundant, the Albanians follow the pursuits of agriculture, more especially in the valley of the Chelydnus, in that of the Thyamis, in the vicinity of

Delvino and Joannina; and in the beautiful plain of Arta. Here they devote themselves to the cultivation of wheat, the vine, olives, and fruit-trees, which in this quarter are abundant and productive. The Albanians are extremely fond of hunting, and give themselves up to this occupation during the cold season of the winter, when the labours of the field have been suspended.

In general the Albanians are of a high stature, strongly muscular, and thin waisted, which is occasioned by the use of the girdles they are in the habit of binding round their bodies. Their profile is handsome, and rather prominent in the middle of the face, which renders the facial angle nearly right, and tends to form the real Grecian features. They have little beard, and the mustachoes, which they all wear, are not bushy. Their colour is fresh, their physiognomy lively and animated, the eyes expressive, fine teeth, narrow forehead, the neck long, the breast wide and elevated, their legs well made, but thin, and the calf of the leg not very stout. The well-formed structure of their bodies renders them agile and good walkers. Their character is lively and gay, but at the same time hasty and violent; and this latter trait renders them vindictive, and in some measure sanguinary. Animosities propagate and are preserved among fa-

milies, and even pass from one generation to another.

The species of feudal dependence introduced among them, and which tends to keep their country in a state of anarchy, has given hereditary chiefs to each clan. These chiefs live by brigandage, and mutually seek to wrest each other's property away: the remainder of the clan follow their banners, fight under their orders, and also inherit and partake of their hatreds. Thousands of tombs, not only observable in the environs of their towns and hamlets; but likewise in a great number of places which have been to them fields of battle, attest their courage as well as their intestine wars. They are extremely avaricious, and addicted to rapacity. Hence do they consider the offices they are enabled to obtain in no other light than as the means of gaining money, and they stop at no meanness or cruelty to effect their end.

The two only religions acknowledged in the Epirus are the Mussulman and Greek; the Jews are tolerated there, yet no Latin Catholics are to be found but among foreigners. They are, nevertheless, actuated by no religious fanaticism, and as long as they are called Albanians, the religion of Christ or that of Mahomet furnishes them with no pretexts for individual

quarrels; indeed they may be considered as indifferent with regard to their exterior worship. The greatest part of the Mussulman villages have no mosque; and the members of that creed make no more difficulty in celebrating Easter with the Christians than the latter do to take part with the former in their Rhamazan. This indifference causes them to contract alliances among each other without the smallest consideration to religion; and hence is it not rare to see Mussulman and Greek chiefs connect themselves by a double alliance. All in general hate the Turks, whose effeminacy and incapacity they despise. "The Osmanlis," they say, "is good for nothing but to eat soup."

The Albanian women, in proportion, are as strongly framed and of as robust a constitution as the men. They help them to till the ground, and fear not to partake with them in the dangers of war. The severity of the climate of the mountains which they inhabit prevents them from attaining the age of puberty so early as the Greek women, but for this reason they retain their beauty and freshness much longer. Their dress, which is a mixture of that of the Greek women and Albanian men, is formed out of a coarse texture, generally manufactured by themselves, and is the same in winter as summer.

They do not repine to sleep on the hard ground, nor hesitate to go out bare-footed during the inclemency of the season.

The Albanians usually have only one wife; they are not very jealous of them, and never shut them up. Both sexes are passionately attached to each other, and nothing can overcome the love of their country. Necessity has indeed compelled the Chimariots to go and serve in the kingdom of Naples, but they never would be induced to absent themselves to a greater distance. The regiment of Macedonia which Ferdinand IV. had carried with him to Sicily entirely deserted in 1808, and the chiefs furnished the soldiers with money in order to enable them to return to their own homes. The Souliots, notwithstanding they have now no country in Albania, would never consent to withdraw to a greater distance than Corfu. This love of their country is so strong, that it is not possible to prevent them from occasionally making an excursion on the continent, which they frequently do without permission; and indeed it is almost cruel to withhold them.

The wandering race known in France under the name of *Egyptiens* and *Bohémiens*, or gipsies, in Italy under that of *Zingari*, and whom the Turks call *Tchinguenés*, are extremely numerous in Albania. Between Alessio and Du-



razzo, on the sea-side, whole villages of them are to be seen, and in the other parts of the country they are to be met with in all the towns, where they dwell in the suburbs. Even in the town of Premiti a great many are settled; and in Joannina their number is rated at 2000. Their ordinary professions are those of agriculturalists and blacksmiths; the latter art is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by them; and it is also among this race that the Turks select their executioners. They have by no means lost their wandering habits, and every year large hordes of them depart and spread themselves in other parts of Europe, telling fortunes. Nothing can equal the misery and filthiness of these wretches, who by their tawny skin and the traits of their physiognomy are distinguished from the other people among whom they live. Very little is known of their language, which partly resembles the Sclavonian; and less respecting their origin, religion, and chiefs, whose existence has only been discovered by a few words which sometimes escape them. Being besides despised and cast down by the other religions, no one takes pains to examine them nearly, or to ascertain the particulars of their history.

The Albanian language, which hitherto is not a written tongue, nor possessed of a known alphabet, is entirely different from the neighbour-

ing ones, viz. the Illyrian, Turkish, and Greek. It contains a large portion of French, Spanish, and Italian words ; which would seem to justify the common opinion, general in the country itself, which attributes their origin to the remnants of armies belonging to the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, and to that of Roger, King of Apulia, who took refuge in the mountains. They have even in their language European letters which are not found in the Greek alphabet, such as b, c, and h.

The atmosphere of Albania is clear and the winter severe, owing to the high chains of mountains by which this country is intersected, where the snow frequently remains till the end of the month of June. In 1807, at the end of the month of May, the Author observed snow on Mount Tzoumerka, near to St. Salvary.

The most ordinary productions of this country are wine, oil, wheat, and other grain, cotton, cattle, and ship-timber. Chimara produces nothing but wool, a small quantity of oil, and oak bark for tanners, furnished in abundance by the forests of the Acroceraunian mountains. The export commerce which Albania carried on with Corfu and Venice in general was composed of the following articles : wheat and grain of all kinds, cattle, fire-wood, essentially requisite to the consumption of the Seven Islands, which

stand in need of these objects of first necessity; oil, honey, bees-wax, a large quantity of excellent tobacco, botarga \*, sardinias, or pilchards, a considerable portion of wool, and also ship-timber, which is conveyed not only to Venice, but also to Trieste, Ancona, and Sinigaglia. In return, Albania receives fire-arms, nearly all from the manufactures of Brescia; woollen and cotton caps, partly from France and partly from Italy; galoons, notwithstanding there is a manufacture at Joannina; cloths, almost all from Como, Vicenza, and Germany, owing to the inferiority of their prices; knives and other hardware, also in great measure furnished from Germany; silks, from Lyons and Italy; together with spices and other colonial produce, brought to them by all nations trading in the Mediterranean, and particularly, some years ago, by the French. Since the French revolution, the neutrality of the Ragusan flag had placed nearly all

\* Botarga is the Italian name for the ovarium of a fish called the scoranza, and a variety of the mullet species, more particularly found on the coast of Albania, as well as in the gulf of Prevesa and the lake of Skutari. This fish is fattened in artificial ponds, and at a certain season the ovary, which is extremely large, is extracted, salted, and dried. It is considered good eating, is simply prepared with oil and vinegar, or citron juice, like the caviar taken from the sturgeon, which we obtain from Russia. The botarga is consumed in Italy, and in all the upper part of the Mediterranean.—Tr.

the carrying-trade in this quarter in the hands of the latter republic.

Arta was formerly the chief emporium of the commerce of Albania, and a considerable quantity of merchandise arrived there from Thessaly, Albania, and even a great part of Macedonia, through the fairs of Alassona, Servitza, Mavronoro, Monastir, and Elbassan. The export trade carried on by Albania, the Epirus, and Thessaly, through Arta, principally consisted of grain, dried vegetables, nuts, and chestnuts, which come from Thessaly and the Epirus; ship-timber, from the majestic forests of the Pindus and Acarnania; tanner's bark; cattle; raw and twist cotton; flax and Morocco skins, which mostly come from Thessaly and the vicinity of Monastir, though flax grows in great abundance in the vicinity of Joannina; wools, unwashed or raw, coarse cloths, cloaks, alagias, or checks, in silk and cotton, or thread and cotton, linens, partly from Albania or the manufactures of Arta and Joannina, and the rest from the interior; tobacco, wine, brandy, and gums, gathered in Albania and the Epirus.

The import trade was nearly similar to that we have already pointed out, in addition to particular articles which the increasing luxury daily rendered more necessary. Notwithstanding the Venetians, whilst masters of Prevesa, had the

entrance of the gulf of Arta entirely at their disposal, the commerce of the latter place was not, nevertheless, exclusively under their control. It was divided with France, and particularly the port of Marseilles, and the other Italian states, as well as Trieste, also partook of it.

The character and manners of the Epirots, Thessalonians, and other Greeks inhabiting the southern parts of these provinces, as far as the Morea, with little difference, are still the same as those of their ancestors. The Epirots are now as brave as they were in the time of Pyrrhus, and the mixture of the greatest part of them with the Albanians has had no influence on this quality. The Thessalonians likewise are still equally as good horsemen. The Boeotians have the reputation of not being very much enlightened. The Athenians are as restless, changeable, and intriguing as they formerly were; and the nomination of an Archonte, or Civil Magistrate, who is now no other than a slave under the rod of a Turkish Bey, creates as much canvassing and noise as when Athens commanded the Grecian seas. The rights of hospitality are still the same among them, and this virtue is so much practised, even among the mountains of Albania, that a foreign traveller may repose at ease even under the roof of a chief of robbers. Having been once received

among them, he will not only be respected, but he may also rely on being aided and protected in case of need.

The usages described by Homer are nevertheless more observable in the mountains, and among the clans which have entirely, or in part, preserved their independence, than in the towns and commercial cantons. In Chimara, for example, a traveller arriving in a village where by any title he has acquired a right or claim to hospitality, on being received into the house of one of the principal inhabitants, is soon surrounded by the chiefs of the corporation. If the weather is fine, which is generally the case, he is invited to go to the public square; it is there that the old men, who are the first to speak, interrogate him respecting his travels, the events which have taken place in other countries, converse with him of their own intercourse, and what has happened among themselves. It is there that they exercise towards him the first duties of hospitality, by presenting to him wine and fruits. The hour of repast being arrived, he is conducted to the house of his host; with him the principal persons sit round a table, whose principal ornament is a sheep roasted whole; and the unleavened bread they set before him has been made by the mistress of the house. What the Author here relates of the independent

Greeks he himself experienced at Drimades, in the family of Thomas Vretto, cousin to Count Gika, and in a hundred other places of the cantons through which he travelled alone, and without any other guides than the inhabitants of the country.

The Greek women are not much restricted by their husbands, and they would be still less so if the fear of the Turks did not oblige them to use precaution. This same fear compels them carefully to hide their daughters, who in general are extremely beautiful, especially in the Epirus. However, a foreigner who by his manners has acquired the confidence of the Greeks, and is introduced into their intimate societies, meets with females there who freely take part in the conversation, and even in the games of which the Greeks are fond. Nevertheless the apartment in which the women carry on their work and attend to their household affairs, and which has retained the name of *gynekaïos*, is separate from that of the men. The vexations and continued grievances the Greeks experience from the Turks, when the latter believe them rich, have obliged their women, particularly at Joannina, to adopt a singular custom, dictated by their love for dress and by the reserve to which they are bound. They always go out wrapped up in a large black mantle of coarse stuff, and

when they are invited to a party, one of their female attendants carries their dress and jewels. Arrived at the house of their friend, they pass into one of the rooms of the *gynekaïos*, or woman's apartment, to dress, and enter the saloon in brilliant attire, and covered with jewels. In the streets they appear with their faces uncovered, and are exposed to no danger: the austerity of Turkish manners would draw down the most severe punishments on any man who should dare to insult a woman.

The Greeks are still what they formerly were, lively, gay, witty, and gifted with a large share of perspicacity, and a great aptitude for the arts and sciences. But the slavery under which they live, as well as the ignorant despotism of the Turks, has caused their prudence and ingenuity to degenerate, and these qualities have often been replaced by deception and roguery. The perpetual dread under which they live has given to them a habit of dangerous dissimulation. This is not the first example of a similar modification of national character produced by foreign despotism. Hence is this not to be found in the Ionian Islands, and in the independent cantons. The oppressive acts and grievances of the Turks have also prevented the Greeks from bringing the manufactures of Europe among themselves, which many of them



know, and have perfectly imitated. "Of what avail would it be to me," said a Greek of Joanina to the Author, "to establish a good manufacture of cloths? I should have to disburse the first outfits, and when it had begun to work, and to reimburse me, the Turks would take it away."

Their ancient superstition, in changing its object, has not abandoned them; they have only mixed the ideas of Christianity with those of paganism. The principal temples of Greece replaced by churches or chapels are still places of devotion or pilgrimage. The Epirot, Ionian, as well as the Acarnanian, who once carefully deposited their offerings in the celebrated temple of Leucadia, have not now forgotten this custom; not a monoxylon\* passes by this promontory without making an offering of a gazeta† to Neptune, which by those on board is thrown into the sea. The Molosses and Dolopes still go to adore the Panagia-Partheni, or Most Holy Virgin, in the forest of Dodona.

\* Monoxylon, as the Greek word denotes, is a boat or canoe hollowed out of one solid piece of timber, and particularly adapted to those narrow seas in which shoals also are frequent.—Tr.

† Gazeta is a Venetian halfpenny, and it is from this word that our term of Gazette is derived, this being the price paid for the sheet of news originally published at Venice.—Tr.

The *Mirai*, (*Parcæ*), or the Fatal Sisters, still continue to preside over the life of man ; nor is a child carried to the baptismal font before a rich present has been offered to and accepted by them. It is the papa, or priest, who comes to take the child, and who had been present at the offering, that decides whether it has been accepted, when the present is delivered up to him. The *Kakodaimon*, or evil spirit, is equally as terrible to them as ever ; and nothing afflicts them so much as wishes of happiness and the praises bestowed on their children, because they are in fear of thereby lighting up the jealousy and anger of the evil genius. Bent down under the weight of a rigorous slavery, the good genius has lost his influence, and they have now only to apprehend the empire of the evil one. The Greek language, adulterated throughout all Greece, and even in the Seven Islands, has been a little better preserved in the Epirus, where it is not so overloaded with auxiliaries and foreign words and locutions. The pronunciation is there also more elegant, and the language more resembles the literal Greek, which is spoken by almost all the priests, and taught in the schools.

The Moreans, inhabitants of a mountainous country, and in great measure descending from the Achaians, Messenians, and Spartans, have retained part of the noble pride and independent

spirit of their ancestors. This is the country least subjected to the Ottoman empire, and the most ready to seek to recover its liberty. The Mainots more especially, so justly proud of having preserved, up to the present day, the liberty transmitted to them by the Spartans, are formidable and irreconcilable enemies of the Turks. Intrenched in almost the inaccessible rocks of Mount Taygetus, or Pente Daktylon, and still better defended by their invincible courage, they descend into the valleys bordering on the Eurotas and the sea, there to cultivate lands, whose harvest the Osmanlis seldom dare to dispute with them, and at the first signal they rush to arms and pour down on their aggressors.

Their government, entirely republican, nevertheless partakes of a mixture of aristocracy and the patriarchal form of government. Their different cantons have chiefs, who lead them on to war, and whom they obey with all the severity of Spartan discipline. The authority of these chiefs, however, ceases from the moment they are deemed incapable of command. The civil government is entirely democratic, and public affairs are discussed between the leaders and the ancients of the people. Every thing that bears the name of liberty and equality electrifies and fills them with enthusiasm. The hymns of the French revolution were carried among the

Mainots, and, translated into Greek, are still to them the songs of patriotism and of victory. The Maino country is guarded by a body of 1000 men, which, similar to the sacred battalion of the Thebans, must always be complete. This corps, continually in activity, and almost always in action, encamps or bivouacs both night and day, observes the movements of the Turks, attacks and destroys those who pass near the frontiers, and repels every invasion. A young Spartan enlisted in this sacred battalion never quits it but to descend to the tomb. Nevertheless an old man is not to be seen in its ranks. "Their aged soldiers," they say, "sleep under the trophies of their victories." The day on which a young Mainot is enrolled in this corps is a day of happiness to his family; even his mother rejoices at having given birth to a son worthy of being reckoned in the number of the avengers and defenders of her country. This glorious victim, devoted to the protection and safety of his fellow-citizens, is carried in triumph to the camp, where his relations bid him an eternal farewell. A Mainot mother, similar to the Spartan matrons of old, would not survive an act of cowardice in her son. "But this misfortune," say they, "happens as seldom as the coming of the white crow."

The vigilance and courage of this illustrious

cohort has at all times prevented the Maino district from being surprised by the Turks. Incapable of flight, its resistance always affords their fellow-patriots time to arm and to collect, and, when embodied, the Mainots easily drive away enemies whom their name alone inspires with terror, and carry fire and sword among the surrounding possessions of the Osmanlis. In the year 1770, when the Albanians spread themselves like a torrent in the Morea, and covered it with ashes and carnage, they halted at the foot of the Taygetus, and dared not attempt to force its defiles. The Kapudan-Pacha who repelled them equally desisted from the too perilous undertaking. The southern point of Maino, constituting the canton of Kolokythia, and where the ancient Psamatos, Komares, Boularias, and Mesapiotis, are still to be seen, is inhabited by the Kakovouniots, or bad mountaineers, more ferocious than the other Mainots, and addicted to piracy.

The Arcadians, tolerably independent in their mountains, are still devoted to a pastoral life, and live in a state of quiet; a great number of the Albanians, forming the remnant of the expedition of 1770, have joined them, and adopted the same kind of life. The clan of Lala alone follows the occupation of robbing. The district of Achaia is entirely ruined, and very thinly

peopled, as well as the north of the maritime district of Elis. Messenia is better peopled, and tolerably fertile. The inhabitants of the northern parts of Messenia and Triphylia, constituting the canton of Arcadia, also live in the habits of piracy.

The Morea, notwithstanding the long war the Turks and Venetians carried on there, was in a much more flourishing state previous to the Russian expedition of 1770, so badly conducted, and so disastrous for this unfortunate country. Count Orlov, who was at the head of it, committed nothing but errors there; and after implicating the inhabitants by inconsiderate and ineffectual promises, he was compelled to abandon them to the vengeance of the Ottomans. This General having committed the grievous oversight of not purchasing the succour or the inaction of the Albanians, or in other words, neglecting to excite civil wars among them which might occupy their attention, ought to have attacked the Morea by the north, that is, by Patras and the isthmus of Corinth, in order to have made himself master of the passes, and prevented the Albanians from entering into the country. The three castles of Patras and of the Dardanelles of Lepanto were then, as they now are, susceptible of a very slight defence,

and would have capitulated on the first shells being fired into them.

It is indeed true that it would have been necessary to have employed cannon, since the Russian fleet had only one bomb-vessel, whose mortars were on board a transport which did not come up till towards the end of the campaign. At that time a few small armed vessels would nevertheless have sufficed in the gulf of Lepanto to prevent any landing. By seizing on the isthmus of Corinth, possession is obtained of the two defiles through which alone it is possible to penetrate into the Morea, and where 100 men would stop a whole army. The first is the pass of Soussa-Kevi and Kakiskala, and the second is that of the dervent above Miniez, where a guard-house is now established, and where the Albanians, flying from the peninsula which they had ravaged, as well as from the troops of the Kapudan-Pacha sent against them, were massacred \*. In that case no Turkish

\* The Russian General not having purchased the neutrality of the Albanians as a preliminary measure to render the insurrection of the Morea successful and thereby break the Turkish yoke, which was the object in view, the above people, eager for war and pillage, hastened to avail themselves of the pretext of religious zeal in order to succour an Ottoman province threatened by infidels. These spontaneous

troops would have been able to arrive from Thessaly or Albania; the insurrection of the peninsula of the Morea would have been complete and successful, and its conquest soon effected. This unfortunate expedition cost the Morea nearly 300,000 souls, which were lost to the population of the country. In the city of Tripolitza alone, after the carnage spread around by the Arnauts, 3000 persons were publicly executed. These fatal consequences have greatly disgusted the Moreans against Russia; and if in 1805 and 1806, when the occupation of the Seven Islands afforded to the Russian government the greatest facilities, it had sought to excite a revolution, the inhabitants would not have listened to its agents.

The export trade of the Morea is reduced to a small number of articles, the chief of which are the following:—Currants, the principal exportation of which is from the port of Patras,

risings are not without example in Turkey, and are even founded on principles of the Mussulman religion. The Porte, who had at first approved of this useful zeal, having been informed, after the departure of the Russians, of the massacres and devastations which the Albanians carried on in the Morea, sent the Kapudan-Pacha with an army to expel them and to re-establish order. It was then that part of the Albanians, pursued by the irritated inhabitants and the Turkish troops, sought to pass the derwent of Miniez, and were there massacred.—Ta.



and the amount shipped is about 30,000 quintals. Wines, almost all of the quality of the Malmsey, and of which about 10,000 casks are loaded in the ports of Patras and Malvasia. Goat-skins, the produce of Laconia, Messenia, and the vicinity of Patras, and of these 25,000 skins are exported. Tanner's bark, of which the districts of Maino and Patras furnish 10,000 quintals. Vermilion, equal to 400 quintals. Hare skins, from Corinth and Elis, which furnish 20,000, of a quality very much esteemed. To the above may also be added a considerable quantity of honey and wax, and some wool, cotton, and silk. The greatest part of the cottons come from Gastouni. The Morea besides furnishes ship-timber.

The imports are nearly the same as in Albania, excepting that a larger quantity of woollen cloths may be added, particularly of the ordinary kind ; also cloaks, and other coarse goods. The ports in which the trade of the Morea is usually carried on are Patras, Koron, and Napoli di Romania ; those of Vitylon and Marathonisi serve only for the Maino country ; and that of Napoli di Malvasia is only an entrepot, or touching-place, for the trade of the Levant. The ports of Modon and Arkadia are of no importance ; and Navarin is rather a station for naval forces.

This trade, however, such as we have just described it, suffered greatly by the state of maritime war in which France and Italy had been kept, as the merchants of the two latter countries are the agents who chiefly carried it on. The occupation of Prevesa by Ali Pacha, by making him the arbiter of the communications, and causing them to depend on his policy or caprice, has also placed great obstacles in the way of its prosecution. At the present moment, when peace has re-established commercial relations, the stagnation under which the commerce of the Greek continent through the Ionian Islands has so long been placed ought to cease. But in order to render it as flourishing and as advantageous as possible, it is necessary that the towns of Prevesa, Bucintró, Gomenitza, and Vonitza, should be restored to the situation in which they were placed by the treaty of 25th March, 1800. By this treaty they were only tributary to Ali Pacha, who was not allowed to maintain a garrison within them. Then the commerce of Upper Albania and of Berat, released from the shackles under which it now lingers, would again resume the road to Bucintró; and that of the Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Macedonia, would again return to Arta and Prevesa. The trading merchants of Alassona, Metzovo, Servitza, Mav-

ronoro, Monastir, and Elbassan, would bring down to the above ports the productions and manufactures of the country; a mutual exchange for the products of Europe would take place, and Corfu might be converted into the chief emporium of this advantageous and increasing trade.

## CHAPTER X.

*Roads from Bucintró to Berat and to Joannina.*

*—From Keracha, Parga, and Prevesa to Joannina.—From the latter to Berat and Grevna.—From the latter to Monastir.—From Berat to Kastoria.—From Grevna to Salonica.—From Joannina to Larissa, and thence to Grevna, Salonica, Volo, Zeitoun, and Thebes.—From Arta to Lepanto and Thebes.—From the latter to Corinth.—From Patras to Corinth, and Tripolitza.—From Patras to Tripolitza through Kariteni.—From Patras to Mistra, Napoli di Malvasia, and Koron.—From the latter to Tripolitza and Patras, through Kariteni.—From Napoli di Romania to Corinth, and from Tripolitza to Corinth and Mistra.—Mode of Travelling.*

**T**HE land communications of the Ionian Islands with the principal trading points of the continent, and particularly where the fairs are held of which we have already spoken, are those we shall proceed to describe in the present chapter. Corfu communicates with the neigh-

bouring continent through four different points, viz. Bucintró, the beach of Keracha, Parga, and Prevesa. The first of these points affords two interior communications, the one through Argiro-Kastro, with Berat, and the second with Joannina. Keracha and Parga communicate only with Joannina, but Prevesa also corresponds with Trikala as well as with Lepanto.

1. *From Bucintró to Berat, 44 hours.*

From Bucintró the road ascends the river Pavla for about the space of six hours, after which it takes to the right up a divergent declivity, which we afterwards descend to arrive at the river Pistrini, from whence we reach Delvino, seven hours distance from Bucintró. From Delvino the route follows the road of Joannina for some distance, and after travelling three hours we reach the small village of Nivitza, near which the road crosses a small river; and two hours further on we pass the Chelydnus, and ascend for the space of an hour the opposite hills, in order to regain the road from Joannina to Avlona. We then turn off to the left and in two hours arrive at Episkopi. Still continuing to descend the Chelydnus, at two hours' distance from Episkopi we leave Argiro-Kastro to the left, and two hours further on, Liebovo to the right. After travelling seven hours from Episkopi we arrive at Valera,

and three hours afterwards cross the Chelydnus on a bridge, and proceeding onwards for two hours we reach Tepeleni. The whole of this road is extremely commodious for caravans, and even for small waggons. From Tepeleni there is a bad road along the Vojutza, by which in eight hours time we arrive at Kaminitza. Thence, crossing Mount Chimara by a path, in the course of seven hours we come to Avlona. At Tepeleni we cross the river Vojutza, and taking to the right proceed along its banks by a difficult way which anciently constituted the defiles (*Sthenæ*) of Antigonía, and in three hours time arrive at Klissoura. On leaving the latter place we join the high road from Joannina to Berat, and in the course of 12 hours enter the latter city.

*2. From Bucintró to Joannina, 27 hours.*

After leaving Bucintró we arrive at Nivitza, and afterwards at the bridge of the Chelydnus. On reaching, however, the road of Joannina to Argiro-Kastro, we turn to the right, and at the end of an hour again cross the Chelydnus, and ascending for the space of an hour a tolerably wide valley, we meet with Delvinaki. From the latter to Jarovina the distance is two hours, and the road leads over a woody divergent ridge. We then descend the valley of Jarovina

during the space of two hours, in order to reach the river Thyamis, over which we pass on a bridge, and follow its course for two hours, when proceeding down the left bank we arrive at a han. Here the road leaves the river and ascends by a difficult way along a water-course to the village of Dzidza, which stands at two hours distance. After passing Dzidza we traverse a valley without any outlet, in which is a lake believed to be a subterraneous discharge of the Acheron, and after travelling four hours more we reach Joannina. The above road is tolerably convenient.

3. *From Keracha to Joannina, 18 hours.*

Landing from Corfu on the beach of Keracha, which is three hours distance, we find a han bearing the same name, and situated at the foot of the small town of Konispoli. After passing the han of Keracha, the road for some distance leads over a plain, after which we ascend to the left towards Mount Moutzkeli, at whose base is situated the small town of Philates, chief place of the canton of the latter name, and also called Tzamouri. This place stands at six hours distance from Corfu. On quitting Philates by a road kept into lerable repair, after travelling eight hours, and crossing several rivulets whose waters unite with the Thyamis, we come to the

village of Arkovita. From this place the road rejoins the Thyamis; and after travelling an hour and a half, we cross the latter river on a bridge near to Raino. From the latter place, coasting along a precipice at the bottom of which flows the rivulet of Bonila, we approach Velchista, which is at the distance of an hour and a half from thence. From Velchista, by a stony and unequal road for about two hours, and good during the space of two more, we enter the city of Joannina.

*4. From Parga to Joannina, 17 hours.*

From Parga we ascend to the N. by a bad road, and cross several water-courses, in order to arrive at the small town of Margariti, which is three hours distant. From the latter place we travel to the N. E. during three hours, and over a road equally difficult, and then arrive at the town of Paramithia. From the latter place, constantly in the same direction, we travel over five hours of unequal and mountainous road before we come to the village of Dervignano. Hence we cross over several valleys, and at the end of three hours we enter the plains near Perilepti; and in three hours by a handsome road arrive at Joannina.



5. *From Prevesa to Joannina, 22 hours.*

At Prevesa we embark on the gulf as far as Salagora which is at five hours' distance. From Salagora, on a paved road and practicable for coaches leading as far as Joannina, in four hours' time we arrive at Arta. Thence we proceed to Kuntziades, only three hours distant. The ban of the Five Wells, or Pende-Phrearia, is three hours further on, and from thence it requires four hours to reach the ban of St. Demetri, and from the latter ban to Joannina we travel three hours more over plains.

There is still, however, another road, which is not bad, and only takes up 31 hours' travelling. From Prevesa we proceed to the ruins of Nicopolis, which are only one hour distant. From these ruins we travel four hours on to Louro, and from thence two hours more to the village of Lina, situated on a river which falls into the Louro. After passing Lina we enter into a wood, in the middle of which is a lake called Makri-Limni; and, on coming out of the wood at four hours distance from Lina, we cross the river Rougousi on a bridge, and three hours afterwards arrive at Pende-Phrearia, where we join the high road.

It is from Joannina that all the caravan-roads issue which lead to Elbassan through Berat, to

Monastir, Salonica, Larissa, and Zeitoun, and from thence to Athens and into the Morea. From Arta the roads lead to Salona, Zeitoun, Athens, and Patras. We shall commence by the first.

6. *From Joannina to Berat, 38 hours.*

From Joannina we travel on for two hours towards the N. W., descending along the margin of the lake in order to arrive at the han of Lutzo, where we cross the lake on a long pier. We continue to descend for the space of two hours along the discharge of the lake, after which we ascend towards the N. in order to arrive at a han which is six hours distant from Joannina. On leaving this han we travel on for the space of two hours, and reach the village of Ravenia, after passing several water-courses which go to the N. towards the Vojutza. Departing from Ravenia, we pass through Alipher, and at the end of four hours arrive at the small town of Ostanitza. From the latter place we descend into the valley of the Vojutza, which we cross on a stone bridge, at an hour's distance from the above town. After passing the river and proceeding by a dervent, in the course of two hours we arrive at the han of Terri, situated near the margin of the river. Three hours after leaving the han of Terri we re-pass the Vojutza on a second

bridge, and two hours afterwards approach the small town of Premiti. We a third time cross the Vojutza, and descend along its banks for the space of six hours, in order to arrive at Klissoura, where the river turns to the left towards Tepeleni. Here the good road ends, and the remaining part as far as Berat is more difficult. From Klissoura we ascend the western declivity of Mount Imolika. The distance is two hours to the han of Jepovo; two from thence to that of Vinoka; three from the latter to the han of Ali, in passing Bossi; and one from hence to the han of Ibrahim. From the latter place we descend during the space of four hours through the valley of the river Mavroneró, in order to arrive at the river Kavroni, and an hour afterwards we alight in Berat.

All the roads leading from Joannina to Macedonia and Thessaly, either towards Monastir or Salonica, or towards Larissa and Zeitoun, pass through Metzovo. The first afterwards pass by Grevna, and the other by Trikala.

*7. From Joannina to Grevna, 27 hours.*

On quitting Joannina we pass through Bonila and Bourkoumadi, and proceed on along the lake of Joannina as far as Janicha, which is at three hours' distance. We then cross over a divergent ridge of the Pindus, and arrive at the

two hans of Baldona and the Kira, situated at half an hour's distance one from the other, and at five from Joannina. We then ascend for an hour along the right bank of the Arachtus, as far as the han of the Roses, whence it is three hours' distance to Dervendika. Here we cross the Arachtus and afterwards ascend its course on the opposite bank, during a space of two hours, as far as Pournari. From the latter place we ascend the Pindus during three hours, and arrive at Metzovo, a town containing about 1000 houses, and situated on the declivity of a mountain which commands the sources of the Arachtus, Peneus, Haliacmon, and the Vojutza. On leaving Metzovo we traverse the mountain of this name, and at the expiration of four hours arrive at the village of Gattaro, situated at the source of the Venetiko, or Haliacmon. Afterwards, descending by the course of this river and passing it several times, in the space of two hours we come to Krania, in two hours to Erkinia, and in three to Ghergiades. There we cross the Venetiko on a bridge, and after travelling two hours in the plains we arrive at Grevna. At two hours' distance to the W. of Grevna, is the small town of Mavronoto, where very considerable fairs are held.

8. *From Grevna to Monastir, 27 hours.*

There are two roads leading from one of these cities to the other, the one, which is that of the caravans, passes through Siatista; and the other, more difficult, passes by Kastoria.

By the first from Grevna we go through Archouda, and in four hours' time, after travelling over the plains, we come to the margin of the river Inichori, which we cross on a bridge, and then are at an hour's distance from the small town of Siatista. On setting out from the latter place we go across the mountains through Karajania and Kimpini, and in seven hours enter Kailas. From the latter place to the small town of Flosina or Philarina the distance is eight hours, and thence to Monastir, seven. The small town of Magarovo where the fairs are held, is four hours to the N. of Monastir.

The other road is only equal to 24½ hours. From Grevna through Archouda, Zurok, and Trapezista, in four hours' travelling over the plains, we reach Lepchista, and from this place through Kerbadia come to the bridge of Inichori; the distance is three hours and also over plains. From the latter bridge to Kastoria, in going round the lake, the distance is three hours and a half. From Kastoria, through the mountains, in an hour and a half's time we come to

Vizani, in four to Makala, and in one and a half to Philurina. Before arriving at the latter place we cross the river Vistrizā.

9. *Lateral road from Berat to Kastoria,*  
*44 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours.*

The caravans belonging to the fairs of Elbassan pass through Berat, or through Ochrida, in order to arrive at Salonica and Monastir. From Berat, in ascending along the borders of the Apsus or Kavroni, in three hours' time we come to Kusovitzā; from thence we proceed to Pirisniak a distance of three hours, to Dubrin in four, to Dussarli in six, and to Noskopoli, which is situated near one of the sources of the Apsus, in three hours. On leaving Noskopoli, we traverse Mount Kolonias, and in the course of four hours arrive at Gortza, afterwards at Plia, and next Sapunoi-Kupri, which distance is performed in seven hours. We then proceed to Biklista in two hours, to Livani in four and a half, and to Kastoria in two. From Ochrida to Agio-Naum the distance is six hours, and from thence to Gortza two. The whole extent of this road is equal to 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  hours. From Ochrida the travelling is three hours to Resna, four to the Cajani han, and three to Monastir. This road is extremely bad.

10. *From Grevna to Salonica, 32 hours.*

In proceeding from Grevna we reach Siatista in five hours as before mentioned. From thence following the heights stretching along the left bank of the Indge-Karasou, we travel on six hours to Kozani, and thence five to Seilji. On quitting the latter place we descend to the plains, and after passing the Vistrizta, in six hours arrive at Veria or Karaveria. From the latter place to the bridge of the Vardar, the distance is five hours over plains, afterwards three to Gondogrou, and two through Lepli to Salonica.

There is another road equally travelled by the caravans, and particularly by those going to the fairs of Servitza, and which is performed in only 28 hours.

From Grevna we arrive at Servitza in seven hours, over a champaign country. On leaving the latter town and proceeding along the left bank of the Indge-Karasou, in the course of five hours we come to Egribudgiak, and in 11 to the bridge of the Vardar.

11. *From Joannina to Larassa, 40 hours.*

From Joannina we come to Metzovo, 14 hours distant. On quitting the latter place the road proceeds up the Pindus Mountains towards

the E., and after crossing two sources of the Peneus, and passing by a han, we arrive at the han of Malakassi, four hours distant from Metzovo. We afterwards descend along the left bank of the Peneus, in order first to arrive at the han of Mokossi and then at that of Koukoulios, seven hours from Metzovo. After crossing the Peneus we come to Kastania, and thence to a han near a dervent, situated at an hour and a half's distance from Koukoulios, and the same from Kalabaki. We repass the Peneus in order to arrive at the latter town; after which we follow the course of the river for an hour and a half, and afterwards leaving it to the S., where it takes a great bend, in two hours and a half we enter Trikala.

From Joannina there is a direct path leading to Trikala in 19½ hours by the following route: to Janicha, three hours; to the han of the Kira, two; to the dervent, seven; to Kalavites, two; Kalabaki, one and a half; and to Trikala, four.

From Trikala we descend along the Peneus, and in two hours time arrive at Kourbali; thence we reach Koukoutos in two hours; and, passing through Siouti in two more, we come to the small town of Zarko, and two hours afterwards to Koutchoukevo, where we repass the Peneus; and from thence in four hours we reach Larissa. This road is chiefly over a flat country.



12. *From Larissa to Grevna, 22 hours.*

From Larissa we proceed to the N. across plains in order to arrive Turnavo, distant two hours and a half. From thence, following the crest of the hills, in five hours we arrive at Tziritziani, and in one more at Alassona. On leaving the latter place we cross Mount Krati-chiovo, and in seven hours alight in Dominitza. From hence to Phili is two hours and a half; to Ghergiades two hours more, and the same also to Grevna. From Dominitza there is another tolerably convenient road leading to Valenichti in five hours, and to Kalabaki in seven.

13. *From Larissa to Salonica, 41½ hours.*

Two roads are found here. That of the caravans passes through Alassona, at eight hours and a half's distance. Thence, across Mount Krati-chiovo, there are 12 hours to Servitzza, and from this place, as already pointed out, 21 hours more to Salonica.

From Alassona there is a lateral road which in five hours and a half leads to Livadi, and thence in six to Katrin.

The other road, which is that of the travellers and couriers, only takes up 38 hours. From Larissa we proceed along the plains to the N.,

and, passing between the Peneus and a marsh, in four hours we reach the village of Baba, situated at the entrance of the valley of Tempe. From Baba the distance is three hours to the bridge of the Peneus, and thence, by the back of Mount Olympus, three hours further to Platanona. On leaving this place we follow the sea-coast, in order to reach in seven hours the small town of Katrini. We then come to Nitros or Cætros, three hours distant, and next to Levtochori, situated at a similar distance. We then travel on for 10 hours to the bridge of the Vardar, or eight to the mouth of the same river, after crossing the Iadze-Karason and the Vistritza. From the bridge the distance to Salonica is five hours.

14. *From Larissa to the port of Volo, 14 hours.*

From Larissa we proceed towards the S., along the margin of a rivulet which takes its source not far from Velesin. At four hours' distance from Larissa Rizomilon is situated; and five hours further on is also the small town of Velesin; and thence, after crossing Mount Pelion, in five hours we arrive at Volo.

15. *From Larissa to Zeitoun, Livadia, and Thebes, 40 hours.*

The caravan-road passes through Pharsalia. On leaving Larissa we traverse the plain extending to the S., and in three hours arrive at Chalkedonio, and three hours afterwards at Pharsa. Thence, in the course of an hour, we come to Proerna, and, after travelling three hours through the defiles of Mount Otridelecha, approach Thavmako, whence descending by the river Ellada, we reach Zeitoun in four hours. From Chalkedonio it is also possible to go direct to Ellas in three hours, and thence to Zeitoun in five.

From Zeitoun, by following the road along the sea-coast and after passing several torrents, in four hours' time we come to the derwent of the Thermopylæ, after which we enter on Mount Œta, or Koumaita, and spend three hours in crossing it before we reach the banks of the Cephissus, which we pass an hour afterwards, and in the space of three hours arrive at Livadia. From this place there are five hours to Karamehia, and two to Ismene, which part of the road lies along the plain bordering on lake Topolias; we then cross the Sphynx mountains, and at the expiration of three hours enter Thebes.

From Zeitoun there is also another road some-

times frequented by the caravans, which leads directly to Salona in 16 hours. By it we go from Thermopylæ to the village of Stouvala, situated on Mount Cæta, in four hours; thence we descend to Dadi, situated on the banks of the Cephissus, or Mavronoró, in two, and then ascend during two hours as far as Agiorani, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, and thence to Salona in four hours.

16. *From Arta to Lepanto, 30 hours; and thence to Salona and Thebes, 29.*

From Arta we descend the Arachtus as far as its mouth, and then turn to the E., along the margin of a small lake, in order to arrive at Kakorissa, which is four hours distant. From thence proceeding along the eastern margin of the lake, in four hours we reach Loutraki, and on leaving it pass over part of Acarnania, a wild and mountainous country, and in 12 hours arrive at Enkili-Kastri, situated on the Aspro-Potamo, or Achelous. From Enkili-Kastri the distance is five hours to Aita, where we cross the river Phidari, or Evvenus, and in five hours afterwards arrive at Lepanto. From the latter place the distance is two hours to the castles of the Dardanelles, and one to Patras. From Prevesa a road also leads to Lepanto, along the

coast. We first pass the gulf of Actium, and arrive at Plaja in three hours; thence at Solion, through Kondili and Sinode, in nine; at Kateki, through Prodromo, also in nine; and at Lepanto, through Aita, in 10 more. The whole distance is equal to 31 hours.

From Trikala to Arta a bad road leads over the mountains, which is travelled in 18 hours, viz. to Phanari in four hours, to Pirra in two, to Kardiki in three, to Todoriana also in three, and to Arta in six hours. From Trikala it is possible to travel to Lepanto in 31 hours by a most horrid road, practicable only for foot travellers. We first join the Aspro-Potamo at Pirra, a distance of six hours, and then descend along this river for 10 hours, to Argiro-Kastro; to Abulabor, nine; to Enkili-Kastri, six; and thence to Lepanto the distance is 10 hours.

From Lepanto we follow the sea-coast to the E., only quitting it a little as far as Karavari, which is at five hours' distance, and thence across a chain of mountains the distance to Salona is five hours. From the latter place we descend into the plain of Krissa, and in an hour's time arrive at Kastri, situated on the same river, which place corresponds to the ancient Delphi; and three hours further, on a declivity of Mount Parnassus, is the small town of Arakova; whence,

after passing through Distoma, and crossing Mount Parnassus, in four hours we alight at Livadia.

From Arta there is another difficult and little frequented road leading to Zeitoun. We first come to Kakorissia, and afterwards to Philokis, on leaving which we cross the mountains, in order to arrive at Argiro-Kastro. We cross them a second time before we arrive at the sources of the Ellada, and at Karpenish, and afterwards descend along the latter river, and pass through Patranseki, and next arrive at the city of Zeitoun. The distance by this road is estimated at 36 hours.

From Thebes to Egribos we reckon eight hours, over a good road leading through Spahides. From Thebes to Athens, by the shortest road, the distance is calculated at 12 hours, in the course of which we cross the Asopo on the lower bridge, and pass through Kocho. The most frequented road, however, is that which leads through Kondura.

*17. From Thebes to Corinth, 20 hours.*

Travelling in the abovedirection from Thebes, we cross the Asopo on the lower bridge, an hour's distance below the ruins of Platea. The road afterwards ranges across Mount Elatea, and after passing by a ruined fort, at the dis-

tance of six hours, enters Kondura. Hence the left road in four hours leads to Lefkina, and thence to Athens in four hours more. The road which takes to the right enters the defiles of Mount Paleo-Vouno, and in six hours brings the traveller to Megara. From the latter place we continue to proceed to the N. W. over Mount Paleo-Vouno, and by a narrow road arrive at the derwent, which serves as a gate to the Morea, and situated at four hours' distance from Megara. From the derwent in two hours we reach Miniez, and on leaving this village descend into the plains of the isthmus, and after travelling four hours arrive at Corinth.

From Megara there is also another road ranging along the sea-coast, which passes by Kakiskala, or the Scyronian rocks, a distance of three hours, and afterwards goes through Soussa-Kevi, three hours further on, and in the course of four hours reaches Corinth. This road is, however, almost impracticable.

In the Morea we will follow the same plan as the above, and delineate the communications of the chief posts among themselves, as well as with Mistra, Tripolitza, and Corinth.

18. *From Patras to Corinth, 33 hours.*

From Patras, after passing through the village of Sichena, in an hour's time we arrive at the

castle of Morea. We then make a tour round the small gulf of Drepano, and in the course of an hour arrive at the village of this name. Thence the road proceeds along the sea-coast, and at the distance of five hours from Drepano passes the ruins of Salmoniki. In two hours afterwards we reach the small town of Vostitza, and in three more the village of Tripia. From the latter place a road in seven hours leads to Kalavritta, after passing through Kanti. From Tripia there are two hours to Kerata, and four to the small town of Xilo-Kastro. An hour from the latter we pass by a dervent, and nine hours further on is the small town of Vassiliko, from whence to Corinth the distance is five hours.

19. *From Patras to Tripolitza, 34½ hours.*

From Patras, in proceeding along the western declivity of Mount Vodi, in seven hours we arrive at Triti, situated near the sources of the river of Kaminitza. From Triti, after crossing Mounts Oleno and Xirio, in the space of three hours we reach Nezero, situated on the southern declivity of Mount Chelmos; and still proceeding along the latter declivity, at the distance of four hours from Nezero we come to the town of Kalavritta. On leaving this place we descend



Mount Chelmos, and after passing the river Erymanthus, and traversing a divergent declivity, in the course of three hours we enter Pyrgo, near the sources of the Ladon. We afterwards descend along the banks of the Ladon for three hours, as far as Tripotami, where we cross the above river, and then ascend for an hour to Kalata, or Kateli. From the latter place in five hours we arrive at Mettaga, and in four and a half more at the village of Vidi, situated at an hour's distance from the ruins of Mantinea. We afterwards pass by these ruins, and in three hours alight in Tripolitza.

From Kalavritta there is another road, less frequented, by which we arrive at Tripolitza in 22 hours. First we descend to Gardiki for the space of four hours, and afterwards for the same length of time to Dimitzana. From thence we come to Jakova, distant one hour; to Thelphoussa two; to Langadia four; to a han, which is five hours distant; and lastly to Tripolitza, which is two.

From Kalavritta there is a path over Mount Cyllene, by which the traveller goes to Vassiliko in 21 hours, by passing through Naukria, Phonia, Menitzi, Zaraka, Stiphili, and Xilo,

20. *From Patras to Tripolitza, through Kari-  
teni.*

This road is equally frequented by the caravans, and, as we shall point out, forms one of the lines of communication corresponding to the island of Zante. From Patras, following the sea-coast, in two hours we arrive at Achaja, and from thence in three hours at the small town of Kaminitza. From the latter place we travel over the plains of Elis, in order to reach the gulf of Klarentza, which we follow as far as the small town of Leena, a distance of eight hours. From the latter place to the town of Gastouni the distance is computed at three hours. On landing from Zante at the port of Klemoutzi, or Hulomidsh, in three hours we reach Gastouni, whence we go over land to Patras, Koron, Tripolitza, and Mistra. From Gastouni we arrive at Savalia in two hours; at Mesalongi in two more; and from thence we travel four hours before we enter the small town of Pyrgo, situated at an hour's distance from the sea, and the same from the river Alpheus. From Pyrgo we ascend along the banks of the latter river for the space of seven hours, in order to arrive at the village of Miraka, situated near the ruins of Olympia. On leaving Miraka we cross the Alpheus, and in one hour and a half arrive at

Phraxio, and then re-cross the same river, and reach Iri in an equal space of time. From the latter place to Rhavli the distance is three hours, and in this space we cross the Erymanthus and Ladon. From Rhavli we continue to ascend along the Alpheus for four hours, as far as Kastri; and from thence, in the same space of time, after passing near the village of St. George, we arrive at the town of Kariteni, situated on a height, at the confluence of the Alpheus and the Gortinyus. On quitting Kariteni we enter on the mountains, and, after crossing two branches of the river Helisson, in eight hours we arrive at a han. On departing from this han we traverse Mount Roino, and in the course of two hours reach Tripolitza.

21. *From Patras to Mistra, 62 hours, and to Napoli de Malvasia, 16.*

From Patras in 24 hours we arrive at Pyrgo, as before noticed. From the latter place we pass the Alpheus, in order to arrive at Agolinitza, two hours distant, and still continue to ascend along the same river as far as St. Basile, or Agio-Vassili. Hence we proceed to the S. E., towards the sources of the rivulet flowing by the latter village, and, after travelling over a divergent ridge, at the end of seven hours we alight at Griveni, situated near the Alpheus. From

this place to the small town of Andritzena, built on an elevation nearly opposite to Kariteni, the distance is three hours. On leaving Andritzena we descend along the slope of the hills as far as the Alpheus, which we cross at five hours distance from Andritzena. An hour afterwards we arrive at Sinano, or Megalopolis, seated on the banks of the Helisson. From Sinano we come to Londari, three hours distant to the S. E., and situated between two branches of the Alpheus. In taking our departure from Londari we enter on a valley stretching between Mount Roino and the Taygetus, in order to come to the sources of the Eurotas, or Vassili-Potamo. This valley, which is that of Belmina, leads to Agio-Vassili, at six hours' distance from Londari. From the village of Agio-Vassili to Perivoli the distance is two hours; and continuing to follow the course of the Eurotas, six hours afterwards we arrive at Mistra, a city built half a league from the ruins of the ancient Sparta.

From Mistra we descend towards the S. E., leaving the village of Soka to the right, and cross the Eurotas below Vordonia, after which we ascend to Zizima, seven hours distant from Mistra. From Zizima, across several small valleys, the distance is two hours to St. Pavlo, two and a half more to Marios, four to Paleo-Pidavro, corresponding to the ancient Epi-

daurus-Limera. The ruins of the latter place are at half an hour's distance from Napoli di Malvasia.

From the latter place, by following the sea-coast, and making a tour round the capes and gulfs, it is possible to travel to Koron. This road is very practicable, but as it proceeds along the whole coast of the district of Maino, no caravans venture to frequent it. From Napoli, through Agio-Lindi and Agio-Giorgi, the distance is 10 hours to Cape Malio. From this place in six hours we come to Castel-Rampano, or Ruja, through Vatico and Zeresia, and afterwards pass by Sapiko and Tzili, and in five hours arrive at the mouth of the Eurotas. On leaving the latter place we come to Triniso, Marathonisi, Vathy, and Kolokythia, in eight hours, and thence to Cape Matapan in two. After quitting this cape the road ascends to the N., and passes through Komares and Maina, two hours distant; through Chariotes, Dzimova, and Vitilo, six hours; Prasto, Mandiniiai, Platza, Kardamyla, Kitriai, and Kalamata, in all 10 hours. From Kalamata to Nisi the distance is two hours, and 10 more to Koron. The whole distance is equal to 59 hours.

From Londari there is still a shorter road than that of Mistra, in order to arrive at the mouth of the Eurotas. Along it we pass by the der-

vent of Ta-Vounia, through Zarnata, Maltitza, Kastania, and Petrini, whence we arrive at Koumastra, only two hours distant from the mouth of the Eurotas. This road takes up 20 hours; but as it passes through the district of Maino, it is not at all times safe.

From Mistra to the mouth of the Eurotas the distance is ten hours, through Phivika and Koumastra.

*22. From Patras to Koron, through Arcadia,  
62 hours.*

From Patras we again reach Pyrgo in 24 hours. We then cross the Alpheus, and, proceeding along the fisheries situated on the sea-coast, in eight hours we arrive at the post, or guard-house, of Kaiapha. Two hours afterwards, on the sea-side, we find a han and a guard-house. We still follow the sea-coast, and after travelling three hours come to the village of Dervish-Aga, situated at the mouth of the Neda. From thence, still proceeding along the coast, the distance to Arcadia is four hours. We then go round the cape by a road half-way up the mountains, and in two hours arrive at Philatra, in four at Gargagliano, and at Eski-Navarin in three. From the latter place we go round the port, and in three hours come to Na-

varin. Modon is also three hours to the S. of Navarin; and from Modon to Koron, after passing through Vounari and Karokopia, the distance is computed at six hours.

*23. From Koron to Tripolitza, 26 hours.*

From Koron, along the coast, we reach Kastellia in three hours, and two hours further on pass below the village of Balliada; and after crossing several rivulets, and travelling for three hours, we arrive at Nisi. We then ascend along the Pamisus, or Pirnatza, for the space of two hours, and arrive at the small town of Androussa. We then proceed on to Anaziri, leaving the ruins of Messena to the left, and an hour afterwards cross the Pamisus, and ascend to Lezi, three hours distant from Androussa. From Lezi, in the course of two hours we come to a derwent, formerly called the Hermæum of Messena. After crossing the Alpheus, in the course of three hours we enter Sinano, from whence, having travelled four hours, we reach a village situated on the back of Mount Roino. Two hours further on we approach the ruins of Pallantium, and in the course of an hour and half alight in the city of Tripolitza.

*24. From Koron to Patras, through Kariteni,  
60 hours.*

Another road leads from Koron to Patras without passing through Arcadia or Tripolitza. We first come to Sinano in 18 hours, and thence to Kariteni in three. We then follow the Gastouni road as far as Iri, computed at 11 hours, afterwards proceed to Dimitzana in four, and to Kalavritta, through Gardiki, in eight more. From Kalavritta we join the Tripolitza road, and in 14 hours enter Patras.

*25. From Napoli di Romania to Corinth, 12  
hours.*

From Napoli, after going round the bottom of the gulf, we come to Paleo-Anaplia, and then turning towards the N., in two hours time arrive at Plataniti. From this village the distance is three hours to that of Berballi, and two more to Klegna. On quitting the latter place we enter a defile which continues for five hours, as far as Corinth.

From Napoli we reach Argos in three hours, whence we can also proceed to Tripolitza or Corinth by the roads we shall now proceed to point out. From Napoli a practicable and tolerably easy road, in 10 hours, leads to Pidavro, or the ancient Epidaurus, after passing through



Avlonara, Perivolia, and Jero. From Pidavro, proceeding along the sea-coast, the distance to Damala, or Troezen, is seven hours, and thence to Kastri (Hermione) four hours more. From Kastri, ascending the gulf of Nauplia, through Kranidi, Didymi, and Drapano, the distance is 15 hours to Napoli.

26. *From Tripolitza to Corinth, 24 hours.*

From Tripolitza we come to the ruins of Mantinea, or Goritza, in three hours; and half an hour afterwards we enter Arni, situated to the N. E. From this place two roads lead to Argos. The one ascends Mount Artemisio, in a N. E. direction, as far as Enoa, which stands at five hours and half distance from Arni, and from Enoa in three hours we descend to Argos. The other road issuing from Arni enters on Mount Artemisio to the E., through a defile called Kaki-Skala, and afterwards descends three hours, to the village of Agenitzi. From this place we continue to descend for three hours, as far as Kili, and from the latter village in two hours and a half arrive at Argos.

From Argos, after crossing the Planitza, or Inachus, in two hours we ascend to Karvathi. At two hours and a half distance to the N. of the latter village is a derwent, situated on the road from Klegna to St. George, or Nemea, and

at an equal distance from both places. From this derwent the distance is two hours to Klegna, and afterwards five to Corinth.

From Argos we may still go in four hours to Barbali, and thence in two to Klegna.

There is still another road from Tripolitza to Argos. On leaving Tripolitza we pass through the village of Steno, and afterwards enter on Mount Artemisio, through another defile cut into steps, and corresponding to the ancient Trochos. On leaving this defile we descend to Aglakambo, six hours distant from Tripolitza. From Aglakambo we descend for four hours to the mills (milos) situated near the marsh of Lerna, and from these mills the distance is three hours to Argos.

*27. From Tripolitza to Mistra, 14 hours.*

From Tripolitza we direct our course to the S., towards the ruins of Tegea, at half an hour's distance from the former city, and at the end of three hours arrive at Koraka, and an hour further on we find Karvathi. On leaving the latter village we enter a defile, corresponding to the ancient Hermæum of Laconia, and on issuing from this defile we pass a village, after which we cross over the river Chelesina, and arrive at another village, situated near a derwent, and at six hours distance from Karvathi. We then

continue to descend along the Chelefina for the space of two hours and a half. We next cross this river, and one hour and a half afterwards pass the Eurotas to the N. of Mistra. From the latter bridge the distance is only one hour to the city.

The mode of travelling in the dominions of Ali Pacha is such as it has always been in the greatest part of Turkey in Europe, that is, on horseback. No one of the great communications existing between the capital of the empire and the frontiers is practicable for carriages in the whole of its extent. The travelling across the high chains of mountains, such as the Scordus, Boreas, Pindus, Othrys, Cæta, Rhodope, and the Hæmus, is extremely difficult, from their being intersected with glens and precipices; there, indeed, the high-roads are nothing more than very indifferent paths. This is the reason that prevents foreigners arriving there by land from bringing their carriages with them; and in the country we find nothing but mean carts. Besides, even if such a convenience were possible, it would not be advisable for an European of the west to suffer himself to be seen in an equipage so extraordinary for its novelty, in the middle of a country where it is requisite as much as possible to avoid the air and appearance of every thing that is strange.

The hans, or inns, which are tolerably frequent in the well-peopled provinces, very far from resembling the inns of the rest of Europe, are, if possible, worse than the *ventas* in Spain, and those of the interior of the kingdom of Naples. These buildings, the greatest part of them founded by the pachas and beys, or else by rich individuals, offer to the traveller nothing more than a gratuitous cover; but this is not always a shelter from the inclemency of the weather. It is necessary for the traveller to carry his own provisions with him, as the inhabitants usually do, and even his cooking utensils, if he does not wish to live according to the usages of the country. It is also advisable to carry with one every requisite to sleep upon, in order to avoid the inconvenience of being obliged to bivouac.

These hans in general consist of two or three large buildings, standing on each side of an extensive yard, wherein, in the good season, the caravans deposit the loads of their beasts, and the gates are shut during the night. One or two sides of the building are appropriated for the reception of the travellers; but these rooms are nothing but mean garrets, in which there is no other furniture than a mat, on which it is necessary to sleep when one is provided with nothing better. The remainder of the building,

and which constitutes the best half, is converted into a large shed, garnished round with a species of projecting basement, built in masonry, eight or ten feet wide, and three high. This platform serves for the purpose of mangers for the horses, as a sleeping place for their conductors and servants, and the shed is also used as a store-house for the goods in bad weather. In some of the rich and commercial towns, however, some more convenient and better furnished bans are to be met with ; but the dirty carpets which cover the floors, and the mean sofas, or divans, which stand round the apartments, do not engage the traveller to repose on them before he has covered them afresh.

The conveyance of merchandise from the interior of Turkey to the principal fairs of Macedonia and Greece, as well as to the frontiers of Dalmatia and Germany, is performed on the backs of horses ; mules are rarely used, unless it is towards Bosnia and Dalmatia, where those from Italy are purchased, and camels still more rarely. The latter animal is only seen passing through the country, and when caravans of them are met with, they are coming from Asia ; indeed they seldom pass beyond Salonica. The horse's load is generally equal to three Turkish quintals ; and in the land trade carried on with Dalmatia and Austria it is indifferent to reckon

by the load or by the quintal. The caravans are mostly numerous, and it is not unusual to see 300 or 400 horses escorted by about 100 armed persons, who are éither merchants, conductors, or servants. This precaution is necessary, particularly in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and part of Servia, as well as for security in the passage of Mounts Scordus, Boreas, and the Upper Pindus. The caravans sometimes obtain, from the lieutenants of the dervendgi-pacha, firmans, or orders for an escort, to protect them through the dangerous passes. In Bosnia, however, as well as in Erzegovina, the great affinity which exists between the Pandours, or the soldiers of the police, and the robbers of the high-roads, called Haiduttes, or Haidukes, renders these escorts dangerous; and for this reason the merchants prefer going in large caravans, and guarding themselves and property.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Description of the Ionian Islands.—Corfu.—  
Paxó.—St. Maura.—Thiaki.—Cephalonia.—  
Zante.—Cerigo.—Observations on the Posi-  
tion of four of the above Islands.*

**T**HE islands constituting the Ionian republic, and holding a right to concur in the formation of the senate, are seven, viz. Corfu, the principal one, as well owing to its situation and strength, as because of its being the seat of government; Paxó, St. Maura, Thiaki, Cephalonia, Zante, and Cerigo. Cephalonia, from its extent, has always sought a separation, and for several years past has been the seat of a government distinct from the republic, and corresponding to the islands which no longer depended on Corfu. The town of Parga, situated on the main land, also belongs to the Ionian republic, as well as several other islands and rocks in great measure uninhabited, which will be briefly described in the course of the present chapter.

Corfu, the chief of the Seven Islands, anciently called *Corcyra*, and which in all ages has

been celebrated for its maritime strength, is situated between  $39^{\circ} 50'$  and  $39^{\circ} 20'$  of N. latitude, and  $17^{\circ} 30'$  and  $17^{\circ} 18'$  E. longitude from the meridian of Paris. It nearly stretches from N. W. to S. E. to a length of about thirty-five miles, opposite to the coast of Southern Albania, from which it is separated by a channel only two miles wide at Cape Karagol, and six miles at its issue, between Gomenitza and Point Lefchimo. The city of Corfu, whose population amounts to about 15,000 souls, and which in former times was also called *Corcyra*, is situated on a promontory projecting into the sea, and descends, in the form of an amphitheatre, on the northern slope of the same promontory, and at the foot the port opens. This city is neither large nor well built, but it is extremely strong, and mounted with a great number of guns. Properly speaking it has two citadels; the one corresponding to the government-house, separated from the city by an esplanade; and the other called the fort, which stands to the W. of the city and the port.

The weak side of the town was formerly that part which faces to the S. towards the mills standing in that quarter, but at present this front is as susceptible of a good defence as any other. The port is rather small, and will not admit large men of war; but the road is so se-



cure that it may be considered in the light of an extreme good harbour, with an excellent anchorage.

In front of Corfu, at the distance of about a mile, is the island of Vido, formerly called *Ptichia*, where the Lazaretto is kept. This island is likewise fortified with a triple range of batteries, which have converted it into an extremely strong bulwark, and which at the same time perfectly defend the road and port of Corfu.

To the N. of Corfu, and at the bottom of the great road formed by the promontory on which the town is situated and Cape Karagol, is a tolerably deep bay with a narrow entrance, called Port Guvine. This road, which in 1799 contained the Russian and Turkish squadrons, and is capable of receiving and sheltering a considerable number of large ships, is also now fortified and defended in its internal extent, as well as at the entrance, by well-armed forts and batteries. No place in the Seven Islands is to be found so suitable as this for the establishment of a naval building yard; indeed for this purpose it seems peculiarly well adapted. The greatest part of the necessary materials can be easily brought there, and at a small expense. We have already shown that one of the branches of commerce carried on between Albania and Western Europe was ship-timber, which in great

measure went to Venice and Marseilles. This commerce may now be re-established with the greatest ease, since the channels of supply are at most only 50 miles distant from Corfu. But even when sufficient timber could not be obtained there, Northern Albania furnishes great abundance, and extremely fine. The ports of Durazzo and Alessio, which are only 50 or 60 leagues from Corfu, were, under Louis XIV., formed into entrepôts of a similar nature for the use of the French navy; and these might easily be re-established with a people who would gladly hail the opening of a branch of trade which has been lost to them for more than a century. Durazzo, and the harbour situated near Fort Sourh, at the mouth of the river of Kavalìa, would serve for the loading of all the timber furnished by the mountains between Elbassan and Kroja. The port of Alessio, and that corresponding to the mouth of the Bajana, would serve as a depot for the timber brought down from the mountains of Upper Albania, and this is at the same time the best in quality, and the most abundant. The Drino is navigable for large rafts to a distance up of more than 30 hours; and in this space it flows through magnificent forests, whose timber would only have to slide into the bed of the river. The same may also be said of Moraccia, above Lake Shiabak

and the town of Pogoritzza. The Author, who has travelled through this part of the country, speaks only of what he has himself seen. From the above exposition it is therefore easy to conclude that the building yards of Corfu might be supplied with abundance of valuable ship-timber. The hemp necessary for cordage and sails, and of which the towns of Bologna and Ferrara in Italy are capable of supplying a large quantity, might also be obtained at the port of Alessio, and brought down from the vicinity of Skutari.

The gulf of Corfu is terminated to the N. by Cape Karagol, anciently called *Posedium*, and which is opposite, and only two miles distant from, the point of Bucintró. In the middle of this channel is an isolated rock. In 1798 it was proposed to establish a redoubt on the point of Bucintró, a strong closed battery on the above rock, and another similar one on Cape Karagol. In this manner the channel of Corfu, being shut in, would have been converted into a kind of road, where an enemy's squadron would have been exposed to great dangers, owing to the calms which so frequently reign there. At present, however, as Bucintró is under the power of Ali Pacha, this measure is no longer practicable. To the N. of Cape Karagol, and at four miles distance, is another promontory. It is here that the channel ends, and we immediately

enter into the gulf of Kassopo, or Agioi-Saranda. The whole of this coast is extremely steep and rugged, and affords no landing point, nor indeed any safe anchorage. After passing the above point the coast stretches to the N. W., bounded by rocks and small islands, for the space of six miles, as far as Kassopo, a village situated at the bottom of a bay, which forms a small but convenient port. After leaving this bay, and on a promontory which terminates it to the N., we see the ruins of the ancient city of Cassiope, of which the castle is still in tolerable preservation. To the S. of Cassiope formerly stood the temple of Jupiter Cassius, on the summit of a mountain still called Mount Kassopo. At present, on the highest summit of this mountain, in the same place, and in the exact direction from Corfu to Kassopo, we see the ruins of a tower which once served as a semograph. From this point it was possible, with the greatest ease, to observe the vessels entering into the gulf of Otranto, and to give advice of them at Corfu; and thence also the city of Otranto, Cape Leuca, and Cape Lenguella, may be described.

After passing Kassopo, the coast, uniformly steep and rugged, ranges in the same direction for the space of eight or ten miles as far as Cape Sidero, formerly called *Phalerum*, and

which forms the northern extremity of the island. Between Kassopo and Cape Sidero is the village of Katrini, seated at the mouth of a rivulet forming a tolerably deep port. To the N. W. of Cape Sidero, in the direction of Otranto, and at the distance of 10 or 12 miles, is the small island, or rather rock, of Fanó, formerly *Othanus*, *Uphanus*, or *Calypsus*. The author of the *Adventures of Telemachus* would find it very difficult to accommodate his pompous description of the charming island of Calypso to this spot. It is nothing but a barren rock, susceptible of no cultivation, and only inhabited by a few fishermen. Fanó is nevertheless extremely important. This rock, which affords good anchorage, is the best possible military station to observe the navigation of the Adriatic sea. Not a sail can pass by, however near to one shore or the other, without being noticed from Fanó. It had been proposed to establish a fort there, in order to secure the navigation from Otranto to Corfu. To the E. of Fanó is another large rock, uninhabited, called Malnera, and formerly known by the name of *Malthace*; and between the latter and Cape Sidero is another smaller one, named Gravia.

After passing Cape Sidero the coast ranges to the S. for the distance of 18 miles, and as far as Cape St. Angelo, anciently *Amphiphegus*. At

the bottom of a small road to the S. of the cape stands the village of St. Angelo, where anchorage is to be found, though not very secure, owing to an extensive bed of shoals. The coast situated between the two capes is steep, and almost inaccessible. To the W. of Cape St. Angelo are two long rocks surrounded by dangerous ledges under water. These rocks are called the Samandraki, and in former times *Eri-cuse*. From St. Angelo the coast turns to the S. E. during a space of 15 miles, and as far as Cape Gardiki, and from thence it again changes to the E. S. E. for about the same distance, and till we arrive at Cape Bianco, formerly named *Leucimna*. To the S. E. of Cape Gardiki is a tolerably deep bay, where we find the village of the same name; and this, together with the port of St. Angelo, are the only two anchoring-grounds by which access can be had to this part of the island. To the S. of Gardiki are three rocks called Lagudia. From Cape Bianco the coast extends for about six miles in a northern direction, forming a species of inward bend as far as the point of Lefkimo, in front of Gomenitza, and which terminates to the S. the channel of Corfu. Between these two points is the village of Lefchimo, or rather Lefkimo, formerly *Leucimna*. Lefkimo in vulgar Greek is the pronunciation of the word Λέυκιμος. After passing Point Lef-

kimo the coast turns a little to the W. for the extent of about six miles, and as far as Point Dragotino, which closes to the N. a tolerably deep bay. At the bottom of this bay is the village of the same name, near which salt-works are established.

The promontory on which the town of Corfu is situated, and of which it occupies one of the points, projects for some distance to the S. E., and as far as opposite to the village of St. Trinitá. Between this village and the cape is a tolerably deep bay, at the bottom of which flows a rivulet. This bay corresponds to the ancient *Alcinus Portus* where Ulysses landed after his shipwreck, and where he met with the Princess of the Phæacians, daughter to Alcinous. From the southern shore of this bay, as far as Cape Bianco, the coast is very much obstructed by shoals stretching in the whole of that distance. The island of Corfu is in general unproductive in grain and cattle, and affords very little wood. The canton of Kassopo produces a small quantity of wheat along the coast, but olive-yards and vines are equally found there. The upper part of Mount Kassopo, however, as well as the whole of the southern declivity, are barren. The canton of Lakonos is the least productive; that of Lefkimo, besides having salt-works, produces olives, vines, and a small quantity of wheat.

From this exposition it will appear that the productions of Corfu are confined to wine, oil, and salt, and consequently this island is under the necessity of seeking its own subsistence by means of a foreign trade.

Paxó, formerly *Parus*, situated seven or eight miles to the S. E. of Cape Bianco, is an island of about 18 or 20 miles in circumference. Opposite to Parga is a tolerably deep bay, which serves as a port to the small town of Paxó, containing about 4000 inhabitants, and the only remarkable place in the whole island which only produces wine and oil, reputed to be the best of all Ionia. Many of the inhabitants of Prevesa, and some Souliots, have taken refuge in Paxó, and increased the population. Between Paxó and Cape Bianco is a desert rock; and to the S. E. of the island is another, called Anti-Paxó, inhabited by a few fishermen.

St. Maura, anciently called *Leucadia*, and in more remote times *Nerytus*, is an island of about 50 miles in circumference, situated opposite to the point of Acarnania, from which it is separated by a narrow and shallow channel, and to the S. of the mouth of the gulf of Arta. St. Maura on one side, and Paxó on the other, form the gulf of Prevesa. A remarkable peculiarity of the gulf of Arta, and also felt in that of Prevesa, and as far as beyond Paxó, is the re-



gular course of the winds. Daily, soon after the sun rises, an easterly breeze commences, and lasts till noon, and at three in the afternoon it is succeeded by a westerly wind, which continues till night. The same direction is also observable in the current of the channel of Prevesa. This alternation is regular, and it requires a strong gale or storm excited in the high seas to interrupt it. The island of St. Maura was formerly joined to the continent in that part now called the beach of Playa, and it was the Italians who separated it, but the precise period is not known. The fortress of St. Maura, formerly called *Leucas*, is to the N. of the island, at the extremity of a very narrow strip of land embracing the port, and separating it from the town, to which it is nevertheless again joined by an aqueduct in the form of a bridge. This fortress constitutes a good defence. The population of the town of St. Maura is estimated at 6000 persons. The island on the land side can only be attacked through Playa, where the channel is only 300 toises wide, about 80 of which only are not fordable. The Russians had raised works opposite to this beach, one of which, called Fort Alexander, was dismantled in 1807 by the explosion of a shell fired from the continent, which caused a powder-magazine to blow up.

At the southern extremity of the island and about 25 miles S. W. of St. Maura is Cape Dukato, anciently called *Leucas*. It was on the extreme point of this promontory and on a steep and threatening rock, that the celebrated temple of Leucadia once stood, where unhappy lovers came to cure themselves of a fruitless passion, and the spot on which Sappho met with the end of her life as well as the close of her misfortunes. This formidable promontory is still venerated by the Ionians, nor does any navigator now venture to pass it, without throwing into the sea a piece of money as an expiatory offering. From this cape to the northern point of Cephalonia, the distance is only four miles. Here commences the use of the boats or canoes made out of the single trunk of a tree, and, for that reason, called by the Ionians, *monoxilon*. This small vehicle is extremely convenient for the interior navigation of these seas; and by this means the cruising of an enemy's squadron has never been able to prevent the communication of the islands with each other. The principal villages of St. Maura are Phrini, Kalamita, Neochoro, Dragoni, situated on Cape Dukato; Eviero, and Ellomeno, formerly *Ellomenus*, which stands at the bottom of a tolerably deep bay. The island of St. Maura is no other than a single mountain, extremely

high and not very fertile; the sides of this mountain, however, facing the sea, produce wine and olives the only articles of growth the island affords. The island of Meganisi, an almost uninhabited rock and formerly called *Thelebaides*, is situated along the coast of St. Maura to the S. E. from which it is separated by a narrow channel. Near the continent, and to the N. E. of Drajomestre, is another insulated rock called Kasto, and formerly *Axia*; and a little further on towards the sea is the island of Kalamo, anciently known by the name of *Taphia*, inhabited only by fishermen.

Thiaki, formerly called *Ithaca*, is an island of about 20 miles in length, stretching from N. W. to S. E. and situated, at the distance of about six miles to the S. E. of Cape Dukatis. The ancient name of *Dulichium* is also attributed to Thiaki, but it appears more probable that this appellation rather corresponds to the island of Antoliko, at a later period called Melite. The island of Thiaki in reality forms two, united by an isthmus of about a mile wide. To the N. it widens between Cape Markama, standing in front of Cephalonia, and Cape St. John, about 12 miles distant from each other. The southern part which is about five miles wide, finishes at another Cape St. John, opposite to the mouth of the Achelous. In this southern part is the

village of Oxoi, situated on a mountain. In the northern part, on another mountain, is the village of Anoi, formerly *Naius*. These two portions of the island are separated by a bay five miles deep and two wide, and in the eastern part of the same bay are two ports. The one, called Skinon, is placed near the entrance; and the other which is that of Vathy, has a narrow mouth, but is afterwards almost two miles deep. At the bottom of this port is the small town of Vathy, containing about 3000 inhabitants and occupying the ground of the ancient Ithaca, the capital as well as the residence of the wise Ulysses, Penelope, and Telemachus. The ruins called Paleo-Kastro, seen to the S. E. of Vathy, must have belonged to Ithaca or the ancient palace of Ulysses. Vathy is the native place of Senetor Zaró, one of the most distinguished magistrates of Ionia as well for the goodness of his character as for his learning. Tradition makes him descend from Ulysses, the counselor of Agamemnon and the friend of Nestor; and of such an honour he is in every respect deserving. There are still two other ports in the island of Thiaki: the one called Aitto to the E. is situated below Oxoi, and the other named Pagli opens below Anoi. This island is not deemed fertile; there are, however, a few scattered plots of wood near Anoi, Oxoi, and port

Skinon. To the E. of Thiaki, and exactly in the same direction from Vathy, is an island about three miles long, inhabited by fishermen, and called Jotako. This island, by some geographers mistaken for Ithaca, was anciently known by the name of *Prote*.

Cephalonia, anciently *Cephalenia*, the second in rank of the Seven Islands, is the first in point of size. It is 100 miles in circumference from cape to cape, and nearly 150 in following the direction of the coast. This island is situated four or five miles to the S. of Cape Dukato belonging to St. Maura, 10 from Cape Papas, eight from Cape Tornese, and six from Zante. To the N. of the island in the canton of Erizzo is Cape Viskardo, and to the S. E. of this cape is the port of the same name, at the bottom of which are seen ruins, but it is not known to what ancient city they can be attributed. In the channel of Thiaki is the rock of Didas-Kala, formerly *Asteris*. The villages of this canton are, Vasilikates, towards the N.; Kamitato, on the eastern coast; Logorata, to the S.; and on the western coast Asso, situated at the bottom of a bay at the extremity of which, on a small peninsula, has been built the fort of this name, near the ruins of the ancient *Niscus*. On the western coast and to the S. of Asso is the canton of Tinea, the villages of which are



Tinea, seated on the sea-shore at five miles distance from Asso; and Gnifi, three miles inland. One of the western points of Cephalonia is Cape Giria, in the canton of Anoi; and the village of Aterra stands five miles to the E. at the bottom of a port, anciently called *Pronesus*. To the S. of Capelgiria is Cape Sidero, in the canton of Katoi, the last point stretching to the W., and near is the village of Tafio. The canton of Livadi extends round a bay eight miles deep and two wide at the entrance, and near the western point of this entrance are the rocks called Guardiani, and formerly known by the name of *Letoia*. From these rocks, as far as Cape Sidero, shoals are to be met with. On the western side of the bay and at three miles from its entrance is the small town of Lexuri, formerly *Palla*; and to the N. W. inland is Kuralata. Opposite and at some distance from the eastern side is also Dangata. In front of Lixuri the bay opens into a branch running to the S. S. E. for three miles, and on the peninsula formed by this branch is the small town of Argostoli, the most considerable one of the island, although it does not contain more than 5000 souls. This place was anciently known by the name of Cranii.

In the centre of the island is the canton of Potamiana, and in this district eight miles N. E.

of Argostoli is the small town called Borgo, which has replaced the ancient Cephallenia; and to the S. is Pesada. To the N. W. Dilinata and Kardakata also belong to the same canton. To the S. of Argostoli is the canton of Lirato, containing the villages of Miniez to the S. of the island; Metacata, more to the N. E.; and Veskovato, situated inland. The coast bordering on this canton is full of ledges of rocks. To the E. is the canton of Ikongnia, extending as far as Cape Korogra, in front of Cape Tornese. Its villages are, Vlakato, to the N. W.; Katoleo, above Cape Korogra, and Morecopalato, standing a little higher up. The church of Madonna di Malle, built on the Black Mountain (Mavrovouno), and formerly called Œnus, stands in the place of the temple of Jupiter Œnius. On the eastern and southern declivity of this mountain is a forest 15 or 16 miles in circumference; a few thickets are also found in the island near Dulinata, Kuvalata, Aterra, Daugata, Paleochoi, and the town of Cephallenia.

Between Capes Korogra and Kapro and opposite to Cape Papas is the canton of Skala, only containing the village of this name, and situated on an elevation two miles distant from Cape Skala, where stand the ruins belonging to the ancient Œnus. At the point of Capes

Korogra and Kapro some shoals are noticed. To the N. W. of Capè Kapro and at the foot of the Black Mountain is the canton of Pirie, in which is the village of Vlachochori ; and to the S. E. port Poro opens where formerly the city of *Pronii* stood. To the N. of the canton of Pirie is the Cape of Alessandria. Between this cape and point Pilaro is the bay called the Valle of Alessandria, owing to the shoals which are there met with. On the eastern side of this bay is situated the canton of Samo, to which the village of Paleochori belongs standing to the S. E. ; and in the bottom of the bay are the ruins of the ancient *Samæ* or *Same*. On the eastern side also is the canton of Pilaro. The village of this name stands to the N. W. near the port of the same name, and otherwise called the port of St. Euphemia. The village of Makriotika also stands to the S. W. The island of Cephalonia is not very abundant in wheat, though it produces more than the others ; but it is fertile in good wines and excellent fruits, particularly melons of a very superior quality.

Zante, formerly *Zacynthus*, is an island of about 12 miles in length and 30 in circumference. Cape Skinari, situated to the N. is six miles S. E. of the island of Cephalonia ; and Cape Vassiliko is 10 miles S. W. of Cape Tornese. The city of Zante, anciently also called



*Zacynthus*, and having a population of 16,000 souls, is built in a line along the eastern side of the island, a little to the S. of Cape Krio-neró (fresh-water) 12 miles distant, and nearly W. from Cape Tornese, at the bottom of a small bay formed by Cape Krio-neró and the point of the Madonna di Skopo. The fort stands to the N. W. of the town, at the extremity of a commanding hill. The port is in fact no other than a road, containing about three miles in the opening and four in its whole external extent, but it is tolerably secure. At the point of Cape Krio-neró, as well as that of Madonna di Skopo, are ledges of rocks easily avoided. To the N. of the island near Cape Skinari is the village of Katestare, near which are small salt works. To the S. W. is the village of Anafonitra, near a small port called Della Nata. To the W. of the island, and near to the coast, is the rock of Vromeri, which has a small creek and anchoring-ground. Entirely to the S. of the island is the village of Chieri; and to the N., a little inland, is that of Lithakia. These two villages are near a road called port Chieri, formed by the small island of Marathonisi and two small rocks, one to the N. and the other to the S. W. To the W. of Lithakia is the village of Agala, near to an inlet. From the harbour of Chieri the coast ranges to the E. as far as Cape Vasiliko, and opposite to this

part of the coast is the small island of Paloso. On the other side of Cape Vasiliko is another harbour not very deep, and formed by the latter cape and the point of Madonna di Skopo, and in this harbour is a small island near to the shore. In ancient times the island of Zante also contained the city of Arcadia, which appears to have been situated where the church of Madonna di Skopo now stands, and called Panagia tis Skopis. In the centre of the island on the only rivulet it contains, and which discharges itself into the sea near the city, is the village of Melnado. The plain extending from Melnado and Zante, as far as Lithakia, is tolerably well cultivated, but the remainder of the island is not so much so. The chief productions of the island, are wine, olives, and fruits.

In front of the gulf of Arcadia are the small islands of Strivali or anciently *Strophade*. The largest of them contains a monastery dedicated to the Redeemer. The smallest is nothing but a rock, and the other two form a species of harbour for small craft.

Cerigo, formerly *Cythera*, the last of the Seven Ionian Islands, is situated five miles S. of the island of Servi, and 14 E. S. E. of Cape Malio. It is 17 miles long from N. W. to S. E., 10 miles wide, and about 45 in circumference. The most northern point is Cape Spati, formerly

called *Platanistus*, and on its extremity stands a chapel. To the S. W. opposite to another point is a rock known by the name of the island of *Platanos*. Three miles to the S. near to a small port is the church of St. Nicholas di Mudari, standing near a torrent. At four miles distance to the S. we find Cape Liado, opposite to which are three small islands called Deer Islands (*Elaphonisia*). From thence to Cape Trochilo, one of the southern points of the island, the distance is six miles S. E. The other southern point, situated four miles E. of the above, is called Cape Kapello; and between these two points a small harbour opens, at the bottom of which, on the declivity of a mountain, is the small town of Kapsali containing about 4000 souls, which has succeeded to the ancient *Cythera*. The fort is to the S. W. on the sea-shore and at the mouth of a torrent. Four miles N. of Kapsali, and near the sources of the above torrent, is the village of Potamos, formerly *Scandæa*. Between this village and Kapsali we discover the ruins of the temple of Venus *Cytherea*. In front of the harbour and at three miles distance is the insulated rock called Avgó, or the Egg; and opposite to Cape Trachilo is another similar rock. To the S. E. of Cape Kapello, and at two miles distance, are the two rocks called Kuphonisia or the Baskets. After

passing the latter cape the coast stretches to the N. for the space of about five miles, and afterwards turns to the E. for about two miles more. This bend forms a kind of harbour, called port St. Nicholas or Avlemona. To the N. of this harbour is a fort called Paleo-Kastro, near to an inlet; and this fort occupies the ground of the *Menelais urbs* and *portus* of the ancients. Not far from thence are the rocks called Dragonere. After passing point Avlemona the coast irregularly ranges to the N. W. as far as Cape Spati, and is steep and rugged, and in this quarter to the N. of Paleo-Kastro are the rocks of Sidero. The island of Cerigo is barren and little cultivated, and consequently is in want of wood as well as all kinds of provisions.

Since Prevesa no longer belongs to the Seven Islands, and consequently since the navigation and egress of the gulf of Arta has become entirely free to Ali Pacha, the island of St. Maura has acquired an importance it did not before possess. It is at present a station absolutely necessary to observe his movements in this quarter, and to cover and defend, in case of war or the dread of hostilities on his part, the interior navigation of the islands. As long as the station of St. Maura is occupied, and a cruising post established between this island and Paxó, it is impossible for any armed vessel

to come out of the channel of Prevesa. This channel, besides, is not very deep, and even a corvette of 20 guns cannot pass through it, unless it is in ballast and with her cannons taken out. Indeed the smallest obstacles prevent a manœuvre of this kind.

The islands of Zante and Cephalonia possess the same advantages of position with regard to the gulfs of Patras and Lepanto. From the Curzolari Islands and port Petala, as far as the castle of Roumelia situated at the entrance of the Dardanelles, a line of shoals stretches along, occupying one-half of the gulf of Patras, and compels vessels going in or out to steer near Capes Kapro and Papas. They are unable to reach the high sea, unless by passing either between Cephalonia and St. Maura, between Cephalonia and Thiaki, or between Cephalonia and the Morea in front of Zante, and even approaching Cape Korogra owing to a hidden ledge of rocks situated two or three miles to the W. of Cape Tornese. It is consequently impossible for them to escape the vigilance of one of the stations established at port Viscardo, at Zante, or Vathy.

The island of Cerigo, which produces little or nothing, had only been preserved by the Venetians as a place of convenience for their vessels to touch at, and as a kind of vidette with re-

gard to their Candia trade, which they carried on with activity, as well as of the navigation of the gulfs of Napoli and Egina, and even of Salonica. It is however necessary, for the security of the communications from Zante to Cerigo, to have an intermediate touching-place, in consequence of the difficulty frequently experienced by the small Greek vessels in doubling Capes Gallo and Matapan. This was the reason that made the Venetians so tenacious in retaining Modon and Coron, and led them to make such great sacrifices in order to retake Navarin. The latter port, whose configuration is found annexed to the map which accompanies these Memoirs, is much more useful and advantageous than the two others, as well by its size as the goodness of its anchorage. It is, indeed, true that it possesses no easy communications by land with the remainder of the Morea, but in the light of a naval station it affords all the advantages that could be desired.

In conformity to the returns presented to the French Governor-general in 1807, the total population of the Septinsular Republic at that period amounted to a little more than 200,000 souls, distributed in the following proportions: Corfu, 60,000; Cephalonia, 60,000; Zante, 40,000; St. Maura, 20,000; Cerigo, 10,000; Thiaki, 8000; and Paxó, 8000. From the above

period no emigrations have taken place from the continent which might have added to the population of these islands. The town of Prevesa had already been reduced to the lowest stage of decay; the Souliots as well as the inhabitants of Agioi-Saranda were no longer on the continent; wherefore the whole of the independent population of the Epirus was at that time destroyed or driven away to the Ionian Islands.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Manners and Character of the Ionians.—Influence of the Political Vicissitudes which the Ionian Islands have experienced, on the Education of the Inhabitants as well as the Public Mind.—Commerce of Corfu and of Cephalonia.*

**T**HE manners of the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, and particularly of those six which are situated at the issue of the Adriatic Sea, are a mixture of Greek and Italian. The long residence of the Venetians in these islands and the unceasing efforts of their government to destroy all spirit of nationality among the inhabitants, must necessarily have produced a wide and deep impression. The Italian or rather the Venetian language having become that of all the public acts, as well as of the bar and pulpit, was also soon adopted in private societies. The Venetian manners brought there by the proconsuls as well as their subaltern agents, and which it became requisite for the natives to adopt, were soon rendered habitual to those who were in direct intercourse with these little



despots, and became general through a spirit of flattery or imitation among those who formed part of the most distinguished class, or who sought to associate with them. It was particularly in the towns where this denationalisation, if I may be allowed the term, was rendered the more complete. This may be pictured in a word by saying, that the towns of Ionia are known to any one who has inhabited Venice or any other town of the Venetian continent. In the country the Grecian manners have been much better preserved, and, with the exception of some slight modifications, are nearly similar to those we have described among the Greek inhabitants of the neighbouring continent.

The same may also be said of dress and usages. In the towns, and even in the country, the persons who aspire at any consideration have entirely adopted the European dress, as well as all the customs of continental society. In their houses we find the same style of furniture used in Venice; the people have been in the same habits of having their assemblies and *casini*; in short, nothing to be seen among them recalls to one's mind that they are Greeks, unless it is that they use this language to speak to their servants or to the country-people with whom they may have business. They have retained nothing of their ancestors but their passion for shows and ex-

hibitions, by which the Venetians were equally distinguished. At Corfu there was a tolerably good opera, which sustained itself even in time of war; but all was in Italian, and no public establishment of this kind induced them to remember that Greek was also the language of poetry and of music. In the country and more especially out of Corfu, the Greek dress is more generally used, but with a modification which easily distinguishes the Ionians. They have adopted the custom of wearing cravats, and substituted the hat for the *kalpak* or tall-cap used by the people of the Continent. Many of them also have exchanged their sandals for shoes with buckles.

We have already had occasion to notice that the measures of the Venetian government for the purpose of stifling all national spirit among the Ionians, and converting them into passive subjects of the ruling power, had been extended even to the public education, which the Ionians were only allowed to receive in Venetian schools, where their natural love for study led them in search of knowledge. We have also shown that the senate of Venice, in order to destroy as much as possible all emulation of those branches useful to society, had adopted the plan of admitting the Ionians to the degree of doctor in the four faculties, without previous

academic studies. This last measure was certainly the most detrimental to the progress of public instruction, since the same protection which had bestowed the diploma on an ignorant man, soon brought him forwards to the first offices of the magistracy; which were refused to him who had sought to merit this distinction by his study and application. All these obstacles and real disgusts, however, had been unable to withdraw the Ionian youth from their inclination to study; but the number of those who thus applied themselves sensibly diminished, because in devoting themselves to the pursuits of learning they could have no other object than their own private satisfaction, unaccompanied with any real advantage. As soon as these obstacles were removed, and the schools of France and Italy were open to the Ionian youths, they made the most rapid progress in all kinds of knowledge and acquirements. Not only abstract science, but also moral learning as well as philosophy, had gained greatly by the progress and diffusion of knowledge, and the display of liberal principles, even amidst the errors and storms of the French revolution. They returned to their own houses rich in theoretical instruction and abounding with useful knowledge. They had studied and improved their time with an aptitude and perspicacity with which these

people are peculiarly gifted ; and were in a state to enlighten their fellow-citizens and serve their country with advantage.

Nevertheless, amidst these real advantages which ought to have been a source of prosperity to the Ionian Islands, and enabled them to place the basis of their government on civil harmony and general patriotism, two great inconveniences occurred. The first was in the very manner in which the Ionians had obtained their knowledge. Each one of them, of his own accord, had made choice of that school where his inclinations, his connections, or other circumstances, had led him. He there followed the course of his studies, and matured the ideas of patriotism he might have brought with him from his native land. But these he only applied to the island on which he was born ; nothing directed him towards an object common to all the members of the same republic, and identified him with his fellow-citizen of the contiguous islands. Even his studies, performed in a language foreign to that of his country, in him suspended, as it were, that sentiment of harmony which they would have called forth in his own national language. In a word, a large portion of general knowledge has always existed among the Ionians, but none of a national kind ;

a considerable share of patriotic ideas and lights, but no harmony blended with them.

There was only one means of remedying this inconvenience, and giving a proper bias to the public mind. This was by the establishment of a national institution, in which Greek professors would have been able to teach the Ionian youths the literature of their own country, that of foreign nations, as well as all the sciences taught in the other universities of Europe. A school of this kind would have belonged to all the islands, as well as individually to each; and in a short time would have caused the very traces of that dissension to disappear which still exists among the members of the ancient Ionia. This propitious result would have been obtained, since the whole of the generation receiving therein one uniform education, and imbibing those principles of indivisibility which hitherto do not exist, in a few years being called to fill the inferior offices of the magistracy, which have so direct an influence on public opinion, would soon have put into practice and established those same principles in which they had been trained. It would have been easy to find out adequate professors for such an establishment among the well-informed and enlightened Greeks, who are not wanting in Ionia, and two years would have

sufficed to carry it to the highest degree of prosperity. It would indeed have been necessary, at least in the first moments, and in order to form the proper persons to direct the secondary schools, that every extension should be given to such an institution, and that the citizens of all the classes should be invited to it, without any regard to their deficiency of fortune. A latitude of this kind would have been the most powerful means of establishing public opinion on an uniform basis, by multiplying the diffusion of knowledge. But the Ionian government has hitherto had too heavy burdens to bear to be able to meet the increase of such an expense: it would have been requisite for one of the protecting governments of the Seven Islands to aid and contribute in so meritorious an undertaking. Have they not thought of it? Have they not wished it? Have circumstances prevented them? To these three questions the solution, as it refers to the past, is perhaps now unnecessary. The future will point out to us whether the Ionian Islands will enjoy the benefits of such an establishment, and by what means they will attain them.

The second inconvenience has arisen out of the indiscreet part the agents of the protecting power have hitherto been in the habits of taking, not only in the details of the civil administra-

tion, but also in the legislative concerns and the executive power of the Ionian republic. The effect of this interference could not fail to offend and wound the national feelings and self-love of the inhabitants, as well as to keep a great number of true patriots at a distance; by which means the responsibility of the administration was rendered illusive, in consequence of its having passed into foreign hands. The distant, though not less infallible, effect of such an organization must have been to create a still greater torpor in the national mind, and to lessen public instruction by rendering its acquisition useless. In order to fulfil the real part of protectors, the Powers which have successively occupied the Seven Islands ought to have been satisfied with directing the local legislature in its operations, and preventing the influence of party-spirit, even of those who had covered themselves with the cloak of absolute devotion to the prevailing Power respectively. The commissioner, governor-general, or minister plenipotentiary, residing near the republic, being in fact the chief of the executive power, possessed sufficient influence over the administration, without pretending to the nomination of the various offices and places; it was enough for him to keep down those individuals who, belonging to a party openly opposed to the views and wishes of the

protecting power, in seeking to thwart his measures, might have brought real evils on their country. This supreme agent, placed in a situation to control all the passions without yielding to any, being satisfied to rectify errors which his position enabled him to discover better than the natives of the country, and being surrounded by men whose influence among their fellow-islanders was founded only on their talents and patriotism, might in a few years conduct the Ionian republic to the highest degree of prosperity to which its strength and position enable it to aspire. But it is necessary that the choice of such a man should be scrupulously made, and he ought then to be invested by his government with a latitude that may enable him to act without shackles, and in conformity to a general plan. Such measures have not hitherto been adopted by any of the powers which at separate periods have held sway over the neglected but interesting country to which we allude.

It may perhaps appear astonishing that we have hitherto said nothing on the subject of the military forces of the Ionian Islands. The fact is, they have never had any deserving the name of national. The Souliots, the other Greek fugitives of the continent, together with the Chimeriots, have always assembled in the defence of Ionia, and furnished as many as 6000 troops,



regularly organized according to their own discipline. The Acarnanians have also aided ; indeed all the above troops can serve no where else. But the legion in which these brave republicans have been enrolled, and called the Albanian legion, has always been in the service of France or of Russia. One of the most efficacious means of raising the national spirit of the Ionian Islands, and of really converting them into an independent and simply protected state, such, in short, as ought to have been the result of solemn treaties, would have been to create a military force there wearing the uniform and following the banners of their country. This measure, most assuredly, would never have exposed the protecting power to danger: these troops would have served the latter equally as well as in their own country, in like manner as the national army of Italy co-operated in the cause of France. Has the adoption of such a plan not been wished—yet we might ask why?

The commerce of the Ionian Islands has experienced, as we have before remarked, a great number of obstacles, through the effect of the political circumstances of Europe, as well as the wars into which their relative situation has drawn them. In order, however, to convey a correct idea of its average extent, as well as the articles of which it is composed, we shall here

quote the substance of a memoir officially drawn up by an experienced merchant, commissioned on the spot to collect all the information necessary to form the basis of a more enlarged system of mercantile speculation.

The island of Corfu, as well from the quantity of oil it produces as its position, affords many interesting means of enterprize. It is under these two respects that this island ought to be considered ; and it will be easy, in conformity to these observations, to appreciate the advantages thence to be derived by the formation of suitable establishments. Its temperature is equal to that of the Morea, Sicily, and Malta : the heats are excessive there during summer, and would be insupportable if they were not moderated by the winds which frequently prevail from the N. W. The S. W. winds, which reign in the Mediterranean during winter, carry and collect there a large assemblage of vapours, which keep it covered with clouds for the greatest part of this season ; and it is for this reason that rains and storms are at that time almost continual. Nevertheless water is there extremely scarce : in the island of Corfu only a small number of wells is to be found, and the inhabitants of the city are obliged to have recourse to cistern-water.

The population of the island is not proportioned to its extent: agriculture is there much neglected, and the olive trees are even abandoned to themselves without being pruned or manured. If the necessary care and attention were paid to these trees, as well as to the preparation of the oil, the quality would not only be infinitely better, but the harvest would also be more abundant.

The olives begin to ripen in the month of November, but do not fall off till towards the end of December or the beginning of January. This is the time when they are gathered; they then proceed to the mill in April, and the harvest is not considered as entirely at an end till the month of May. The purchases are made in February, but there are circumstances in which they take place six months in advance. This kind of speculation affords considerable advantages, but is also subject to great inconveniences, and requires a perfect knowledge of the inhabitants of the country, who are not always actuated by good faith. It is necessary to advance them part of the amount of their oil, but the comparison of the price of the article when these advances are made with the current one when it is delivered affords a profit of from 20 to 25 per cent.

Notwithstanding the little care the Corfiots take in the cultivation of their olives, these trees are nevertheless extremely abundant, and do not fail to furnish a considerable quantity of oil, which is the principal resource of the island, and the most interesting object of its trade. In abundant years the harvest is equal to 1,000,000 of jars; middling years, about 700,000; and in the most sterile ones, 500,000.

The measure made use of in the delivery of oil is the jar branded by government. Four jars form a cask corresponding to the *millerole* of Marseilles, with the advantage of three or four per cent. These operations may be calculated in conformity to this basis, established by repeated experience.

As long as the Ionian Islands belonged to the Venetians, this oil was only allowed to be sent to Venice, particularly in years of scarcity, when the Venetian merchants were in the habits of mixing it with the oil of Apulia. Three or four houses of Venice, which carried on this trade exclusively, fixed the prices of the article. During 15 years the prices had kept up from 40 to 45 Corfu livres per jar; but in 1802 the price of the jar of oil was from 60 to 63 livres.

The money current in Corfu possesses no other than an ideal exchange, subject to some

variations. The following is the average course :—

*Liv. d. of Corfu.*

The sequin, or ducat of gold, 2½

talari . . . . . 57 10.

The imperial talaro . . . . . 27 8

The talaro of Venice . . . . . 27 0

The hard dollar of Spain . . . . . 27 0

The Corfu livre is rated at about 22 French centimes, by which it is evident how much the ducat of gold gains by the above exchange. The oil is paid for in talari, at the rate of 25 livres for the talaro of Venice.

Since the year 1802 the oil-trade of Corfu has assumed a much more flourishing aspect, and now presents considerable advantages, but it requires local knowledge to collect in the article. The Septinsular government, from the above period, had taken measures to facilitate this commerce, and particularly shipments made to the Italian continent. The custom of the Corfu merchants is to receive their funds through Venice, whence the captains bring them in coin, free of freight. It is extremely difficult in the island to find the means of remitting even small sums to the continent, which renders the exchange of paper almost impossible; it is therefore necessary to follow the established custom.

Nothing can be more detrimental than to be obliged to remit by each vessel the funds requisite for its loading at Corfu; but if the speculators would dispense with the necessity of passing by the way of Venice, a useful measure might be adopted, and this is, to cause the funds brought by one vessel to serve for the loading of another that is to follow. In this manner they would always have funds ready to improve the first favourable opportunity, which never occurs at the arrival of a vessel; on the contrary, this circumstance always raises the prices. Another means might also be employed, if no credit had been previously opened at Venice, and it should be preferred to send the funds by the same vessel; and this is, to compel the captain to cast anchor in the port of Kassopo, whence he might remit his letter of advice to his correspondent, and only proceed on to Corfu when he had received an answer. This precaution would greatly facilitate the purchases, which might be made without publicity, and at the most advantageous prices.

The oil of a good harvest is generally of a quality suitable for the manufacture of cloths and soap. Its colour is rather red and transparent, and it is preferred to that of the neighbouring islands, of the Morea and Canea, and even of Apulia. The greatest part has usually

been sold at Venice, whence it has been transferred to the continent as eatable oil.

The oil produced in the island of Corfu may be classed under four different qualities. The first is eatable oil, easily procured in the good years, and which may be selected among that of the second quality, though it bears a small advance in price. The second is the ordinary oil current in commerce, and is that of which we have above spoken. The third is called kernel oil, because it is produced through the trituration of the stones or kernels, by causing them to pass a third time through the press. It is generally found in a congealed state, and of a colour bordering on chesnut brown. This oil being of an inferior nature, is scarcely serviceable for any other purpose than the manufacture of soap, and its price is usually from 40 to 42 livres the millerole, at the first hand. The fourth quality is called *mout*, or *morgue*. It is black, thick, and cannot be put into casks till it has been mixed with one-third of kernel oil. The price of this quality is from 30 to 32 livres per millerole.

Corfu affords no other export articles except oil and salt to those countries already provided with wines, and therefore under no necessity of going there in search of this article. The neighbouring continent abounds with resources,

wherefore it cannot be expected that the commerce of this island can long continue to offer considerable gain, unless it is connected with that of Albania. Nevertheless, warehouses assorted with the various articles of merchandise we shall hereto subjoin would gradually be enabled to effect good sales. Foreign merchants coming to establish themselves at Corfu must expect to be thwarted in a variety of ways by keen and experienced rivals, who for a long time have been in the habits of considering this trade as their own patrimony. It is lodged in the hands of three or four Greek or Jewish merchants, who are tolerably rich, through the support of certain Venetian houses, and who hold the other traders and brokers entirely under their dependance. It would be adviseable for some measures to be adopted, on the part of government, to restrain the operations of the merchants of the Adriatic, in order that other foreign traders may not be obstructed by their influence in the commerce of the islands of the Levant.

Salt-works are found in the island of Corfu, which have always been an object of the greatest importance to the Venetian government to whom they belonged. Their produce was consumed as well in the Venetian states of the mainland as in



Austrian Lombardy, and the latter government gave, in exchange for these supplies of salt, men condemned to hard labour, whom the republic of Venice employed in its galleys and arsenals. When the Ionian Islands became independent, these salt-works fell into a state of decay from which they have never been raised, and indeed the merchants of the country are both too ignorant and unenterprising to undertake any such object of speculation.

For the space of several years these salt-works have been rented, at the low rate of 900 Venetian sequins per year, by a company, to whom even the attempt has been ruinous. This company, not possessing adequate funds to carry on the operations, has only been able to make sufficient salt for the consumption of the country, and a small quantity furnished to Albania, which country is itself provided with salt-works.

It would be easy to point out the very considerable advantages to be derived by placing the above salt-works in a state of activity, if a certain vent could only be secured ; which would be extremely possible by treating in a direct manner with the administration of Austro-Lombardy, that is, with the contractors of Milan, Mantua, Brescia, Verona, &c. under a condition to supply them annually with 14,000 *muids*,

or measures \*, of salt, which might be conveyed to Venice on the terms hereafter pointed out. The trifling sum of 14,000 talari would suffice to commence this enterprise, and even to carry the salt-works to that degree of perfection of which they are susceptible; and from such an undertaking great profits would follow.

The salt-works of Corfu are situated in three different places, viz. at Potamos, Kastrados, and Lefkimo, or Dragotina. Those of Potamos are in a very good state, through the care taken of them, previous to the fall of the Venetian government, by Mr. Frangini, who had been sent there at the request of Chevalier Emo. Mr. Frangini, who was a man of talent and enterprise, had been Professor of Mathematics in the University of Padua, and afterwards Preceptor of the Prince Regent of Portugal. The salt-works of Potamos have 15 pans constructed for the purpose of preparing coarse salt, and their produce is rated at 150 measures per pan, making a total of 2,250 measures, on an average, per year. This quantity, at the rate of 3½ talari per measure, consequently yields the sum of about 7,875 talari. We will compare this produce with the expenses.

\* The muid, or moggio, is a measure for corn and salt, corresponding to about five quarters.—Tr.

*Talari.*

The operations of the above salt-works require the labour of 15 workmen daily during six months in the year, at six livres per day, making 16,200 livres, or - - - - -	600
Forty-five workmen for 10 days, whilst the pans are cleaned, at the rate of 10 livres per day, 4,500 livres, or - - - - -	166½
Four carts, with oxen and drivers, which, as pasturage is abundant near the salt-works, would only cost per year - - - - -	320
A workman to act as inspector, and to receive at the rate of 30 talari per month - - - - -	360
Total expenses - - -	1,446½
Net produce of sales - - -	7,875
Profit - - -	6,428½

The salt-works of Kastrados are by no means in so good a state of repair as those of Potamos, and it would be requisite to expend one year's labour to place them in a situation to afford coarse white salt, the quality of which would be equal to that of Trapano, and Zoara, in Sicily. Practical calculations made on the spot prove, that the surface of a pan suited for coarse salt to one intended for fine is as 30 to 480, or as one is to 16; that is, that the produce of 16 pans of coarse salt yield only the value of one pan of fine salt. As the ordinary salt annually yields a produce of about 150 measures per pan, the 30 pans belonging to the salt-works of Kas-

trados would thus produce 4,500 measures, and sell for the sum of 15,750 talari, whilst the expense of preparation is as follows:—

	<i>Talari.</i>
1st. Twenty workmen daily for six months, at six livres per day, or - - - - -	860
2d. Ninety workmen during 15 days, at 10 livres per day - - - - -	500
3d. Four carts and overseer - - - - -	680
	<hr/>
Total expenses - - -	1,980
Net produce of sales - - -	15,750
	<hr/>
Profit - - -	1,3770
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For the first year it would be requisite to calculate on a disbursement of 6000 talari, at least, for the salt-works of Kastrados, in order to place them in a situation to afford the comparative produce we shall here subjoin. Supposing even that for the first year no more than 600 or 700 measures can be obtained therefrom, and which would always yield the sum of 2000 talari, a deficit of 4000 only would then be carried to the produce of the second year, and afterwards completely covered.

The ground occupied by the salt-works of Lefkimo being much more extensive than that of the other two, the Venetians had been enabled to carry them as high as 800 pans producing fine salt. For the first year it would be re-

quisite to continue the operations of these works on the same footing, in order to obtain sufficient funds to meet the disbursements requisite for repairs. The produce in fine salt would be at the rate of 2000 measures, which, at three talari, would yield 6000 talari. The second year it would be requisite to convert the 800 pans of fine salt into 50 of a coarse and white quality, which would occasion an expense of 8000 talari. The third year only the complete produce would be obtained, and amount to 7,500 measures, yielding the sum of 26,250 talari. The expenses for this third year would in that case be as follows :—

	<i>Talari.</i>
1st. Fifty labourers, at six livres per day, for six months - - - - -	2,000
2d. One hundred and fifty labourers, at 10 livres per day, for 15 days - - - - -	833½
3d. Twenty carts and their drivers, at 12 livres per day - - - - -	1,600
4th. Repairs of carts and tools - - - - -	100
5th. Overseer of works, at 30 talari per month - - -	360
6th. A sub-inspector, at 20 ditto - - -	240
	<hr/>
Total expenses - - -	5,133½
Produce of sales - - -	26,250
	<hr/>
Net profit - - -	21,116½

In order to establish a balance of the whole profits to be derived from the enterprise of the

salt-works of the island of Corfu, we shall present an account of their active and passive state during the period of the first three years, at the end of which, being established on one uniform footing, they would yield a regular and constant produce.

EXPENSES.

*Talari.*

<b>Potamos.</b>	{	These salt-works being in a good state	
		of repair, would require no other than	
		the ordinary disbursements, which in	
		three years would amount to - - -	4,340

*Talari.*

<b>Kastrados.</b>	{	For the first year the expenses	
		of repairs would amount to - 6,000	
		For the second and third year the	
		ordinary expenses would be 3,960	9,960

<b>Lefkimo.</b>	{	The first year the ordinary ex-	
		penses, on the present foot-	
		ing, may be estimated at - 5,000	
		The second year's expenses of	
		repairs would be - - 8,000	
		The third year the ordinary ex-	
		penses would be - - 5,133½	18,133½

<b>Add for the rent of the salt-works, which, through</b>	
<b>competition, may ascend to 3,000 talari per</b>	
<b>annum - - - - -</b>	9,000

<b>Total expenses - -</b>	<b>41,433½</b>
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## PRODUCE.

		<i>Talari.</i>
Potamos.	{ The produce of three years, by the sale of salt, would be - - - -	23,625
Kastrados.	{ The first year the produce would be - - - - 2,000 Of the second and third - 31,500	33,500
Lefkimo.	{ The first year's sales would produce - - - - 6,000 The second year nothing. The third year - - - - 26,250	32,250
Total produce - - -		89,375
Deduct expenses - - -		41,434
Net profit - - -		47,941½

After the said term, the aggregate produce of the above salt-works would regularly be 14,250 measures per annum, corresponding to 49,875 talari. Deducting from this sum the amount of about 12,000 talari for the ordinary expenses of the various operations, as well as the rent and other incidental charges, a net annual profit of 37,500 talari would still remain. However, in conformity to what we have already mentioned, this profit can only be secured by a regular vent and consumption for the article in

question; and for this, Italy, and particularly the kingdom of Austrian-Lombardy, would perhaps be the most suitable, in consequence of their wants and greater facilities of conveyance. It would therefore be requisite for the commercial house or company undertaking the speculation of carrying on the above works to secure a market for the supplies in the above countries, by means of permanent contract, which would by no means be difficult; and in conformity to this measure the conditions of rent might be regulated with the Ionian government. The longer the term of the contract made in Italy, the greater and more secure would be the proportion of profit. It is still necessary to observe, that a rainy year may greatly diminish or even destroy the produce of the salt works; this circumstance is, however, extremely rare, and indeed scarcely within the memory of man, though it ought nevertheless to be perfectly foreseen. It is for this reason generally considered, that the enterprise ought not to comprehend a lease of a duration under 15 years.

The coarse and white salt is usually sold at Corfu at the rate of three talari and a half per measure, and was commonly conveyed from thence to the port of Goro at the mouth of the Po, on a freight of three talari per measure. It



would, therefore, be requisite to sell it in Italy at the rate of six talari and a half, or at least at six; and small vessels can easily be found at Corfu to effect the shipment. The Neapolitans and Cephalonians are capable of furnishing as many vessels as might be required; and formerly as they were liable to be captured by the Barbary Powers they were insured at a premium of about three per cent.

The population of the island of Cephalonia is estimated at about 60,000 souls, divided into two districts, viz. that of Lixuri, and the other of Argostoli, in which latter all the authorities reside. We have already stated the division of the island into cantons. The port of Argostoli is one of the best in all the Mediterranean, and vessels anchor there on a good bottom, and under a perfectly good shelter from bad weather. At the entrance of the channel, behind the rocks called Guardiani, vessels may also cast anchor on very good ground; but they are not secured from the inclemency of the wind.

The island of Cephalonia is very rich; a great number of the inhabitants follow a sea-fearing life and possess about 250 merchant vessels which navigate and trade in the Mediterranean, and particularly in the Levant. The different articles composing the productions of

the country, are exported to the gulf of Venice and Apulia. The wealth of the inhabitants consists in lands, vessels, and money. Their commerce extends only to the navigating by what is called a *nolis*, or charter-party, and to the exportation of their own produce. Before the decline of the republic of Venice, three commercial houses existed in Cephalonia which received commissions from Zante for account of Venetian firms; or received direct consignments from the latter; but this trade had degenerated into a species of robbery, and was usually followed by fraudulent bankruptcies. At present this order of things no longer exists, and for several years no other commission house has been known except the firm of Charidi and Mataxá. The merchants are only allowed one-sixth of a sequin in each hundred on the amount of purchases made; but they have only to purchase the articles in the state in which they are found, and to hold them ready for delivery on the arrival of the vessels.

The productions of Cephalonia are raisins, oil, wine, honey, oats, and vetches, hare-skins, linseed, citrons, oranges, a small quantity of brandy, cotton, and lamb-skins. We will point out the respective quantities of these articles furnished, and the most advantageous seasons

when commissions are to be given for their purchases.

In productive years rains have amounted to 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 pounds' weight, and are of a quality superior to those of the other islands and even of the Morea. The gathering generally takes place in the months of August, and the orders to buy ought to be given in June, so as to secure those advantages which are not met with at a later period. After the month of October is over none remain in the market.

The oil does not enjoy the same reputation relatively with regard to its quality ; it is in general thick and green. When the harvest is good, the island usually produces from 25,000 to 30,000 casks, among which 3000 or 4000 may be found of tolerably good edible oil. The price of the two qualities is the same ; and commissions are to be given in the month of September or October.

The vintage ordinarily furnishes about 30,000 or 35,000 casks of wine, Venetian measure. It is divided into two qualities, red and white, and in general they are good. The red wine, of which the quantity usually amounts to about 15,000 casks, is dry and spirituous. Of the 20,000 remaining casks of white wine, 12,000 are of a

sweet quality and agreeable taste; and the other 8000 are muscadel, of which one-third is extremely good and the remainder more inferior. The two first qualities improve by crossing the sea, but the third receives injury. The first at a seasonable time generally sells for six and a half piastres per cask.

On an average 3000 or 4000 casks of brandy are manufactured in Cephalonia, which are consumed in the neighbouring islands and continent, and at Trieste. The ordinary price is from 15 to 16 piastres per cask; purchases are made in September.

Sixty or eighty thousand weight of honey are generally procured, of an excellent quality and preferable to that of the Morea, and comparable to the honey of Spain. The proper season for going into market is about the month of July, but it is better to give the orders for purchases in June, by which means some advantages are secured. The greatest part of this article is consumed in Venice.

About 4000 steres, Venetian measure, of oats are harvested in Cephalonia, and sold in the month of June. The commissions to buy ought to be given in April, and the payments made in ready money. The island also affords 4000 or 5000 steres of vetches, which are sold in April and bespoken in March. From 2000 to 2500 steres

of linseed are likewise harvested, in the month of June, and the price is from six to seven hard piastres per stere.

Hare-skins are to be found in great abundance, but the Cephalonians have never converted this into a regular trade. It is the sailors who generally purchase them as adventures to sell at Corfu. As many, however, as 3000 pieces might be annually collected, at the rate of from five to seven paras each, equal to about 25 or 35 centimes. About 5 or 6000 lamb-skins can also be furnished at from 5 to 12 paras each, or 25 to 60 centimes, in complete assortments. The sales commence in the month of January, but the quality is better in March. The chief proportion of this article is conveyed to Trieste and Senigaglia.

The island of Cephalonia moreover furnishes about 100,000 pounds of cotton of a very superior quality. This article is partly consumed in the local manufactures, though a considerable share of it is exported to Zante, where it is wove into goods suitable for turbans which are then shipped to Constantinople. This cotton is of an extremely fine staple, and when well manufactured is equal to the best India muslins. As much as 20,000 or 25,000 pounds might be exported, and indeed the growth might be greatly encouraged. The favourable

season is at the end of August, and the price from 20 to 23 paras, or one franc 15 centimes, per pound of 13 full ounces, Venetian weight.

A large quantity of lemons are also collected, and pass over to Trieste and the other islands. The most favourable season is in the month of October, and the price is from four to five hard dollars per thousand. They are shipped in bulk and without any attention, for which reason a great number are spoiled. If more care was taken in putting them on board, the profits would certainly be more considerable. The lemons are gathered after the first rains in autumn.

After the gathering of the common raisins, that of the dry muscadels takes place, the produce of which, when the season has been good, ascends as high as 100,000 pounds. This branch of commerce sometimes presents considerable profits. When commissions have not been received from Venice, these profits are equal to 200 per cent.

Some considerable manufactures of cotton cloths are carried on in Cephalonia, of a coarse quality, and consumed either in the island or the neighbouring ones. Among these cloths is a species of coarse nankeen which the Venetians had dyed of blue colour and afterwards used for

the clothing of their troops. Two manufactures of cordials are also carried on. The aromatic herbs and flowers produced in this island make these of a superior quality; indeed it would be difficult to find any better. They are shipped to Venice, Trieste, Leghorn, as well as to England and Russia.

The greatest part of the imports into the island of Cephalonia, have hitherto come through Venice and Trieste; and the Greeks, who carried on a trade in colonial produce, usually were in the habit of going to Leghorn for supplies. The annual consumption of the island generally consists of about 20 bales of assorted woollen cloths in dark colours, at the prices of from seven to nine hard dollars the Venetian *brasse*; three bales of assorted velvets; a considerable quantity of linens, of all qualities; 80 dozen cotton handkerchiefs; 10 dozen of black silk handkerchiefs, and 50,000 or 60,000 weight of sugar.

The favourable season for supplying the island of Cephalonia with salt provisions is from the commencement of December till the end of February. This supply consists of about 150 barrels of salmon or sturgeon; 50,000 pounds of dried stock-fish; 20,000 pounds of pickled cod-fish; 100 barrels anchovies; 50 barrels smoked herrings, and 15 barrels salt herrings.

The barrel usually contains about 200 Venetian pounds. The above salt provisions meet with a ready sale.

The indigo of St. Domingo is preferred to any other quality, and of this article about 700 oques\* are annually consumed for the dyeing of the cottons manufactured in the country. The ordinary price is about 24 or 25 Turkish piastres of about two francs per oque. The seasonable time for the sale of this article is in August and September. This island also consumes about 8000 pounds of rock-alum at 15 or 16 paras per pound. The favourable months for the vent of this article are the same.

The drugs and spices used in Cephalonia are 4000 pounds of pepper in grain, at the rate of 60 paras to two piastres per pound; from 50,000 to 100,000 weight of cinnamon of the best quality, at the price of seven or eight piastres per pound; 100 pounds of Peruvian bark, best quality; 300 or 400 pounds rhubarb from four to five piastres per pound; 1000 pounds manna of a good quality; and a small quantity of cloves which sell at from 12 to 14 piastres per pound. All the

\* The oque is a Turkish weight corresponding to 400 drachms or 50 ounces Roman weight. The Turkish quintal is equal to 44 oques, and consequently contains 137 pounds.

—Tr.



above articles are sold to most advantage in the months of August and September.

This island, besides, consumes a considerable quantity of iron in bars of all qualities, but that of Sweden is preferred. The annual importations of this article are from 50,000 to 100,000 pounds, and the selling price 175 piastres per 1000; the demand is usually in the winter. Cephalonia has also been in the habit of receiving from Venice about 200 barrels of assorted nails, containing 18,000 nails in each barrel. The smallest, called *cavalli*, are in most repute. These assortments usually sell for 16 or 17 paras per 100, and the summer is the most favourable season. Steel in bars does not command a ready sale, and the consumption is not beyond 10 or 14 cases weighing two quintals each. Lead in pigs is in considerable demand, and upwards of 50,000 weight are required, at 12 or 13 paras per pound. The island also receives from Germany a few boxes of tin in plates, which sells from 10 to 12 paras per plate, but that from France or England is worth from 15 to 18 paras.

The island also consumes from 20 to 24 bales of common paper, cut, at the rate of about four piastres per ream, and five bales common paper, not cut, at three piastres; and two bales letter

paper at three piastres. The whole of the above articles formerly paid no more than three per cent. import duties. It is evident that when the agriculture of the Ionian Islands is promoted, and warehouses are established for local as well as continental supplies, their commerce will necessarily receive a very considerable increase.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Military Sketch of the Frontiers of Turkey.—Recapitulation of the Political Views of the neighbouring Powers on that Country.—Plan of Operations which each of them may follow.—Political and Military Probabilities in their Favour.—Means of Defence possessed by Turkey.—Outline of the Campaigns of the Romans against the Macedonians in Albania, the Epirus, and Thessaly.—Military Consequences which this Outline presents.*

**EUROPEAN** Turkey, in a military point of view, ought to be considered as bounded on the N. by the Danube and Save,\* and on the W. by Austrian Croatia, Dalmatia (together with the dependencies of Ragusa and Cattaro), and by the Septinsular republic. Since the peace

\* Notwithstanding Arrowsmith's map is imperfect in several respects, it will nevertheless serve for the reader to consult on the subject of the present chapter. If circumstances allow, the Author proposes to publish a general map of Turkey on a military scale, for the purpose of illustrating the Memoirs from which this chapter has been extracted.

of 1812 has placed Russia in possession of Bessarabia, and given to her the fortified towns of Ismail and Kilia, Moldavia and Valachia are so much exposed to an invasion, that the Turkish armies will always be compelled to withdraw to the other side the Danube as soon as hostilities have commenced. I have considered Dalmatia and the Ionian republic as one of the military frontiers of Turkey, notwithstanding Dalmatia is in itself no other than a narrow strip of sea-coast, and the Ionian Islands have now only a single town on the Greek continent; but we shall hereafter have occasion to show that the power possessed of these two countries, or one of them, will always hold, if it can besides command a point of support in Italy, a considerable influence over the affairs of Greece.

Although the real division of European Turkey is into Sandgiaks or Pachalics, in conformity to what we have already laid down, yet as this division, originally made without any regard to the internal commercial relations or the limits of the ancient provinces, affords no particular object of military consideration, we shall entirely exclude it from the present survey. The primitive division of the peninsula situated on the right of the Save and Danube, such as it existed under the Roman empire, being much more exact in a topographical point of view, is

the only one that ought to serve as a guide in a plan of military operations, and it is under this impression that it claims our particular notice. We shall therefore proceed to divide European Turkey, with the exception of Moldavia and Walachia, into 10 provinces.

1st, Bosnia, corresponding to eastern *Illyria*; This province, which comprehends Turkish Croatia, Erzegovina, and Montenegro, takes in the whole of the country watered by the rivers flowing into the right of the Save from the Unna as far as the Drino of Bosnia, together with the greatest part of the valley of the Morava.

2d, Servia, formerly upper *Mæsia*, including the country connected with the right bank of the Drino, the valleys of the two Moravas, as well as that of the Nissava as far as the Timok.

3d, Bulgaria, and the district of Doberudscha, anciently called lower *Mæsia* and *Scythia*, stretching between the Danube and Mount Hæmus, from the Timok as far as the Black Sea.

4th, Roumelia, formerly *Thracia*, including the country watered by the Maritza (anciently *Hæbrus*), as well as the adjacent country and situated between Mounts Hæmus and Rhodope, the Black Sea, the Marmara or White Sea, together with the Archipelago as far as the Karasou of Jenidge, formerly called the *Næstus*.

5th, Macedonia, corresponding to the ancient

kingdom of this name, inclosing the valley of the Vardar, formerly the Axios, as well as the country connected with the rivers flowing into it, and situated between the Karasou, Mounts Scordus, Boreas, and Kralichiovo, which separates it from Thessaly.

6th, Albania, formerly Macedonian Illyria, extending along the sea-coast from the Acroceraunian Mountains as far as the lake of Scutari, including the valleys of the two Drinos of Albania, called the Bielo Drino and the Czerno Drino, together with the Vojutza and the intermediate country.

7th, The Epirus, comprehending the ancient province of this name as well as Acarnania.

8th, Thessaly, equally including the ancient province, that is, the country bordering on the Salembria, anciently the Peneus.

9th, Livadia, formerly *Achaia* or *Græcia*, extending to the S. of the Epirus and Thessaly as far as the isthmus of Corinth.

10th, The Morea or Peloponnesus.

Such are the divisions of which we shall avail ourselves in the present chapter. We shall next proceed to examine the frontiers of the Ottoman empire in Europe, under the light in which they are liable to the invasions of the neighbouring powers.

On the side of Russia, previous to the peace

of 1812, the Turkish frontiers presented to the N. of Moldavia some good military positions. The borders of the Pruth had witnessed the capitulation of Peter I. who owed the safety of his crown to no other than the address of Catherine his spouse. Since this period, however, the Russians being enabled easily to unite, at the first appearance of war, a strong force in Bessarabia and under the walls of Kilia and Ismail, an Ottoman army is no longer in a situation to sustain itself in Moldavia; since if a rapid expedition was directed into Dobrudsha and on Varna, the first would be in danger of being cut off from its capital. It is, therefore, necessary for it to take up a position behind the Danube, between Ruszczuk and Silistra, causing the openings of Babatag and Istere on the right to be guarded, and on the left, the passage of the river between Vidin and Orsova. Such a distribution is by no means advantageous for a plan of defence. In fact, the course of the Danube which thus becomes the true military frontier, forms an arch whose convexity is turned towards the side of the Ottoman empire. The Russian army having entered into Walachia, and arrived between Bucharest and Krajova, finds itself in the middle of a chord whose extremities rest on Orsova and Galacz; its wing-movements will always be easy and more rapid than the

countermovements of the Turks, and the latter will thus be unable to prevent the passage of the Danube, on a point which the Russian general may have the talent to choose, between Vidin and Hirszova.

The direction also of the communications leading from the banks of the Danube to Constantinople, as well as into the centre of Greece, contributes still more to render such a disposed line of frontiers disadvantageous to Turkey. These communications, issuing from the different points of a circumference whose convexity is turned towards Greece, do not reunite in one common and confined centre so as to afford to the Ottoman armies a secure means of resistance, when defending a central position which might cover the heart of the empire. They rather end in several successive points of one of the radii, and correspond thereto in such a manner, that an assailing army is easily enabled to turn all the positions which may be situated in advance of Adrianople. These premises will be fully established by a detail of the above communications.

The first is that leading from Ismail through Tulczia, Babatag, Istere, Hadgi-ogli-Bazar, to Paravadi. From thence one road proceeds through Karinabad to Adrianople, and the other



goes on to Constantinople through Aides and Kirk-Kilissa, without passing by Adrianople, to which city the road does not approach nearer than within 15 leagues. The second issues from Silistra, and passing by Kainardjik ends at Szumla, whence one road leads to Paravadi and Varna, whilst the other proceeds through Czalikavak and Karinabad towards Adrianople. From Ruzczuk a third line of communication stretches towards Hezargrad, and then divides into two great branches; the one to the left leading to Szumla and Paravadi; and the other to the right through Osman-Bazar to Karinabad and Adrianople. From Sistov and Nikopoli it is possible to proceed in a direct manner to the valley of the Maritza and the plains of Philippoli, either through Nikopi, Isperidje, and Jeni-Zagra, or through Ternova or Pilsana on to Kaisankik and Eski-Zagra. The latter high road leads from Vidin to Arzar, and thence through Czibra or Berkovacz to Sophia. This simple exposition suffices to point out the inutility of the position which the Ottoman army, during the last war, occupied at Szumla, as well as the ease with which this same position might have been turned. It would be more difficult to explain why this was not the case, and why the peace was not signed under the walls of

Adrianople; this explanation besides might not amount to an eulogium of the Russian Commander in Chief.

On the side of Austria the order of frontiers is not much less disadvantageous to the Ottoman empire, although the defensive army is placed in the concavity of the bend formed by these frontiers. This is because this bend being nearly elliptical, the approaches of the two extremities nearer to each other considerably remove the centre of the defence from the summit. Austria may cause her armies to enter from Transylvania into Walachia; from Hungary into Servia; from Croatia and Dalmatia into Bosnia and Albania; and the basis of the defensive system of the Ottoman empire is transversal to this triple direction of attack. In order to convey a more clear idea of this proposition, it will be necessary to examine with some degree of attention the physical system of European Turkey, and the direction, not only of the great streams of water, since it is now proved that the passage of a river is not a difficulty the less easy to surmount, but also the directions of the high chains of mountains which fix, in an invariable manner, the possible channels of access.

The chain of the Alps enters into Greece through the frontiers of Croatia and Dalmatia,

so that Austria is thus mistress of the two declivities of this chain, sufficiently low in this quarter, and there is no passage between the river Unna and the commencement of Mount Scordus that can possibly be defended. Consequently, nothing more remains than the second inclosure formed by Mounts Hæmus, Scordus, Boreas, and Pindus; and which by shutting in Macedonia and Roumelia appears to separate them, in point of defence, from the rest of European Turkey. The direction of the great lines of communication issuing from the frontiers of Austria will exhibit to us which are the points to be considered as the keys of this second inclosure.

From Orsova, along the border of the Danube and Timok, and from Belgrade through the valley of the Morava, two roads lead to Nissa, whence it is possible to enter Macedonia through Vrana and Uskiub, or Romelia, through Sophia and Philipopoli. From Croatia a great commercial road also proceeds to Bosna-Seraj, and thence to Jeni-Bazar. From the latter place it is possible to direct a course on Nissa, or on Pristina, whence two roads issue; the one leading into Albania through Prisrenda, and the other into Macedonia by the way of Uskiub, which stands at the head of the roads leading into southern Greece, through Monastir, and to

Constantinople, either through Salonica or Serres, or else through Kostendil and Philipopoli.

From Dalmatia two roads conduct to Bosna-Seraj, either through Traunik or Kogniz. From Dalmatia it is also possible to enter into Albania through Skutari, as well as through Erzegovina and the valley of the Moraca, by going directly from Cattaro to Antivari and Dulcigno. Skutari stands at the head of the roads leading through Durazzo and Berat to Joannina; and through Elbassan, Ochrida and Monastir, either to Salonica and Constantinople, or else into the south of Greece.

It is evident from this brief statement that the keys of the second enclosure of which we have above spoken are Monastir, Uskiub, and Philipopoli, as far as regards Austria. But the relative position of these three points among themselves, and their direction uniformly transversal to that of attack, prevents them from supporting each other reciprocally, and thus disables them from furnishing an advantageous means of defence. Monastir and Uskiub are tolerably near to each other, and Mount Boreas sufficiently impracticable for each of these two places to sustain the other; but this is not the case with regard to Uskiub and Philipopoli, and the distance at which the latter

point stands, renders the defence of the others extremely hazardous. In fact, not only a road which may be converted into a military one, such as it formerly was, leads from Sophia and Kostendil; but, by ascending the valley of Esker, at Dounnitza it is besides possible to cut off the communication from Uskiub to Philipopoli. In each of these two cases, the transversal road from Philipopoli to Sertes is left uncovered, and the positions of Uskiub and Monastir are thereby turned and cut off from Constantinople. It thus appears evident that the real centre of defence possessed by European Turkey against the invasions of Austria is the triangle of Sophia, Kostendil, and Philipopoli; and this triangle holds to no military line.

At the time when Illyria, Dalmatia, and the Seven Islands, were in possession of the Emperor Napoleon, the military frontiers of European Turkey afforded a still more disadvantageous defence. It was then not only Albania and Bosnia which were threatened with invasion, but the Epirus and Thessaly were equally exposed to danger. An attack of the latter kind was most to be feared, because, by suddenly separating the southern provinces from the rest of the empire, it would carry the assailing army with rapidity into Macedonia, and shortly reduce the Ottomans to the necessity of defending themselves behind

Mount Rhodope and under the walls of Constantinople. The Ionian Islands being under the dominion of Russia, this power thereby possessed the means of making an advantageous diversion. In the hands of Austria, and forming the right extreme of a line of seven degrees of latitude, by which the latter power would touch on Turkey, these islands would serve to render the fall of the Ottoman empire infallible and rapid. But we shall hereafter resume the examination of this point.

We took an early opportunity of delineating the projects of Russia and Austria on European Turkey, and the display these two powers had given to the preparatory measures of the invasion they meditated. We asserted that the French revolution of 1789 and afterwards that of 1814, by calling towards the West the whole attention of the great European powers, had procured to Turkey a repose of twenty-five years; but that this factitious repose could only last till the moment her neighbours were in a state to resume and follow up the execution of their original plans. Few words will suffice in order to prove this assertion, and these proofs will be drawn from no other source than the geographical position of Russia and Austria.

Neither of these two powers can hitherto be reckoned in the number of the maritime-com-

mercial nations of Europe. The first is unable to derive any great advantages from the Baltic sea, shut up as it is by the ice on the coasts of Livonia and Ingria during eight months of the year. She is also unable to come out of the Black Sea and thus improve the resources of the establishments she has there formed, unless by passing under the very walls of Constantinople and with the permission of the Ottomans. Austria, for her maritime commerce, has hitherto possessed nothing more than the beach of Fiume and the mean port of Trieste. Nevertheless no one is ignorant that, for nearly a century past, these two powers have been busied in the formation of a navy. Who, therefore, can entertain a doubt of their now seizing with avidity every means of attaining their object? It is further evident, that they cannot find what they seek, unless it is at the expense of Turkey.

Russia is not and cannot be satisfied with the expensive and useless establishment she has undertaken at Odessa. This port will never be worth any thing as far as regards commerce, owing to its situation in the midst of an arid desert. In order to be the absolute mistress of the navigation of the Black Sea and to be able to keep it during the north winds which so frequently reign there, it would be necessary for her to have the port of Varna. That of Kilia, which

Russia has lately caused to be ceded to her, serves only, as we have already had occasion to notice, to shackle the commerce of the Danube without bringing to her any real advantage. But to possess Varna it is requisite for her to have Moldavia, Walachia, and Bulgaria ; and for the possession of the Black Sea to afford adequate advantages it is besides necessary to hold the outlets, without which the former is nothing more than an interior lake. Hence is it that since the time of Catherine II. Russia has always kept her eyes on Constantinople ; and of this capital she would already have been mistress, but for the rivalry of Austria, whose government has hitherto been unprepared to consent to such an aggrandizement.

Austria on her side, who, since the reign of Maria Theresa, had sought to form establishments on the Adriatic sea, was already far advanced in her projects when the peace of Campo Formio placed her in possession of the ports of Zara and Cattaro. She afterwards lost, but has now by treaty regained them, and thus becomes nearly mistress of the navigation of the Adriatic sea. Nevertheless, the possession of Dalmatia is not sufficient to satisfy her. This poor and arid province is no other than passive. It is nothing more than a narrow strip of sea-coast detached from Erzegovina, Bosnia, and



Servia, with which it once formed a single whole under the name of the empire of Servia. As it is, Dalmatia has no other means of subsisting than by foreign succour. Nothing, therefore, is more natural than to desire to unite it afresh to the provinces from which it has been detached, and which would furnish it with those resources of which it stands in need.

This consequence leads to the idea of uniting to the Austrian empire all the country situated between the River Timok, Mount Scordus, the Moraca, and the sea, by drawing a line from the point where Walachia touches on Hungary as far as Skutari. Now that the issue of events which have succeeded each other in Europe has placed Austria in possession of Upper Italy, the desire of uniting Bosnia at least to her dominions must have acquired a new impulse, by presenting to her the necessary means of creating a navy, of which she now more than ever stands in need. The coasts of the Adriatic, which she embraces from the mouth of the Po as far as Trieste and Fiume, and thence as far as the confines of Montenegro, furnish her with a great number of fine ports. Those of Venice, Buccari, Zara, Ragusa, and Cattaro, more particularly, may with ease be converted into maritime arsenals. Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa, and the mouths of Cattaro, also afford a considera-

ble number of excellent sailors. Iron, cordage, and rigging, can moreover be furnished by the Austrian states of Italy or of Germany. But this is not the case with regard to ship-timber, of which only a small quantity is to be found in Istria and the islands of the Quarnero, and which the remaining part of the sea-coast does not furnish. The timber of the forests of the Moraca, the Drino, and of Upper Albania, may be disputed, carried away, or at least raised in price, by the inevitable competition of a rival maritime power. The possession of Bosnia can alone give to Austria abundant and fine forests, from whence ship-timber may be conveyed into her own ports without being dependant on a foreign government.

It is in conformity to these views that those plans of campaign will always be directed which Russia and Austria may undertake against Turkey, in any war in which these powers may be engaged; since whatever is the motive that may lead them to declare war against the Ottoman empire, a secret object will always convert it into a war of invasion, of which the phases will display themselves as the disasters of the Ottoman army increase. Russia, since the last peace, having free access into Moldavia and Walachia, will extend herself rapidly in these provinces as soon as hostilities have commenced;

and it is from thence that her armies, well commanded, may proceed towards the centre of the Ottoman empire, and by the capture of Varna consolidate the conquest of Bulgaria.

The basis of operations for the capture of the above fortified place is between Nikopoli and Silistra, by proceeding along the different radii leading to Szumla. But as it is probable that the Ottoman army will occupy in force the intrenched position established near the latter city, and that a direct manoeuvre might then bring on a general action, it would be preferable, in order to avoid the risk, to turn this position. We have already seen that this operation is by no means difficult, and it is possible to effect it by three principal movements. In the first place, by proceeding from Hezargrad direct to Adrianople; by marching from Nicopoli on Kaizanlik; and finally, by crossing the Danube above or below Vidin, and proceeding to Philipopoli, either through Servia or in a direct line.

This latter movement may even be performed by a detached corps, and serve as a diversion to that of the main body of the army on Adrianople or on Szumla. The restless character of the Servians, their love of independence, and their inveterate hatred against the Turks, which the exactions and barbarous acts of the latter are

very far from diminishing, will always convert this warlike nation into an useful instrument in the hands of the Christian powers seeking to avail themselves of them for the execution of their projects. Auxiliaries of Russia, they would facilitate the passage of the Danube to the armies of the latter, between Vidin and Orsova, and assemble in numbers under the banners of the leader sent among them. This combination of forces would answer more than one useful end, by preventing the troops of the Pachas of Bosnia and Upper Albania from joining the grand Ottoman army, and serve as a basis of operations to the Russian army, in order to obtain possession of Sophia, and open to itself access to the valley of the Maritza, as well as to the roads of Philipopoli and Adrianople.

Austria, embracing Bosnia on three sides, does not possess less facilities for the invasion of this province, and cutting it off from the remainder of the Ottoman empire. She may take the field with three armies, which, by directing their march on one central point, would depart from the two extremities as well as the middle of an extended circumference. On the left the Austrian army would enter into Servia, where it would find the same facilities as the Russians, and the insurrection of this province would

place it in possession of all the country bordering on the rivers Nissava and Morava, and consequently of the openings to Vidin, Sophia, Vrana, and Uskiub. From Croatia a second army would penetrate directly into Bosnia, and might be exclusively entrusted with the occupation of this province. From Dalmatia and Ragusa a third army might proceed without great difficulty to Boma-Seraj, and from thence, by marching on Jemi-Bazar and Pristina, occupy the roads to Jacova, Prisrenda, and Pristina, and thereby cut off all communication between Bosnia, Macedonia, and Albania.

Many political circumstances will at all times aid Russia and Austria in the projects of invasion which these two powers may wish to undertake against the Ottoman empire, and insure their success whenever they shall be inclined to understand each other, and act in concert. The first of all, beyond contradiction, is the hatred the Greeks entertain towards the Turks. This inveterate and ever-increasing odium is so much the more founded, because the avarice, tyranny, and rapacity of the Osmanlis close up every avenue which the natural industry of the Greeks might open to themselves. A Greek is unable, particularly in the provinces, to establish any manufacture, or to cultivate any branch of commerce on an extensive scale; indeed he is pre-

cluded from exhibiting any signs of opulence, without the Turks, his neighbours and his tyrants, whom the profound ignorance into which they are plunged by their civil and religious institutions prevents from having either genius or aptitude for the arts, stripping him, and seizing on the fruits of his labours. He does not dare in public to cultivate either the sciences or belles-lettres, without becoming suspicious to his masters. In a word, he holds no other existence than that of a passive being. The deep and general hatred of the Greeks towards the Turks will always lead them enthusiastically to embrace the cause of any power they may conceive able and willing to deliver them from the degrading yoke under which they are bent down. It is also beyond doubt that religion greatly contributes to this aversion; but it is rather the general hatred of Christianity against Mahometanism than the particular spirit of sect. It is moreover possible, that in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bulgaria, the vicinity of the Russians still adds to the motive of a conformity of worship, and may also cause the inhabitants of these provinces to incline to Russia rather than towards any other nation of a different sect, although Christian. But in Bosnia, Erzegovina, Upper Albania, and even in Servia, the frequent relations of the inhabitants with people of the

Latin rite, the existence of this religion among them, which is even prevailing, through the number of persons professing it in Upper Albania ; these united causes, together with the intrigues of Austria, and even of France, have extinguished all particular spirit of sect. In Lower Albania, as well as the Morea, which previous to the year 1797 have always been in constant relation with the Venetians, under whose government their religion has remained existing, though not prevailing in the Seven Islands, the same spirit subsists ; yet in the Morea the ill success of the badly conducted expedition of 1770 causes the French or the Austrians to be preferred to the Russians. We must not even believe that the country of Montenegro, notwithstanding the attachment its bishop has evinced to the Russians, is exclusively inclined to the latter power : the object of the Montenegrinos and Greeks in general is to be delivered from the tyranny of the Turks, and whatever may be the power which procures them this happiness, it may rely on their assistance and affection.

Against all the dangers which threaten them the Turks have scarcely any real means of defence. Deprived of all kinds of information, energy as well as moral courage, no other than foreign aid is capable of saving them from the

perils which threaten them on the part of their neighbours. Their constitution, as well civil as religious, and also the ignorance and fanaticism of the people subjected to Islamism, preclude the possibility of any power, through the means of mediation, affording them those direct succours which might be given to a state differently constituted. It is impossible to think of introducing an auxiliary army into Turkey, even if such an army were the only resource capable of effecting the safety of the Ottoman empire. The Osmanlis will never allow infidels into their ranks, or consent to fight by their side. In vain, at different periods, has it been attempted to overcome their prejudices in this particular; never has any satisfactory result followed these various endeavours. The author of the Memoir quoted at the beginning of this work, among the means of defence which the French government might cause the Ottoman Porte to adopt, proposes that of partly relieving the Greeks from the slavery under which they groan, and also to form a regular corps of Bosnians, Arnauts, and Greeks; to establish a body of foreign artillery, and to take European navy officers on board their ships of war. Neither of these means can, nor ever will, be able to succeed, since they are directly opposed to the precepts of the Koran; and it is necessary for



the Turks to cease to be Mussulmans before they can adopt the usages of Europe.

The first of these measures is more particularly impracticable, owing to the moral superiority which the Osmanlis are compelled to acknowledge in the Greeks, notwithstanding they give to them the character of malignant and perfidious. Two of the inseparable attributes of the essence of narrow souls are absolute distrust and base envy. When ignorance is invested with power, the first and only use it makes of it is in the persecution of talents, in the destruction of knowledge, and the annihilation of liberal ideas and institutions. Despotism, devoid of all mental illumination, in the ideas of philosophy capable of elevating and refining the moral principle of mankind, beholds nothing but the satire of its own incapacity, and the overthrow of a power which is only founded on violence. How, therefore, is it possible that the Osmanlis, to whom none of these negative qualities are wanting, can lighten the heavy and galling yoke under which they endeavour to chain down the courage and faculties of the Greeks? With regard to the other means, we have only to remember the fall of Selim III., and the well-known catastrophe of the famous Moustapha Bairaktar, to be convinced that their execution is impracticable. The experience which the

Author has been able to acquire during his residence in the Epirus has had no other tendency than to confirm him in this opinion.

It is only in the political balance of Europe that are to be found the sole means of preserving the Ottoman empire from the infallible ruin with which it is menaced by the projects and interests of its neighbours. The occupation of the Ionian Islands by England may still afford to this tottering empire a considerable support, and, in case of need, may furnish it with mark-time succour. The credit of the British government at Vienna and St. Petersburg may, and ought also, to produce an influence favourable to the existence of the Turks in Europe. It is through this influence alone that their eventual safety can be effected, for it is only on the continent that they are to be well defended; and it is solely by calling the attention of Russia and Austria to other objects that it is possible to prevent an invasion, which would be too rapid afterwards to be stopped if it had not previously been foreseen and obstructed.

The interior of Turkey in Europe presents no adequate point of military defence. The few fortresses to be met with in the central provinces are half dismantled; no one defile is intrenched; no works have been prepared to defend those grand avenues of access which we

have already delineated. Wherefore, two battles lost within the line of frontiers would be sufficient to disperse the Turkish army, which, if only followed up in a close manner, would be unable to find a position on which to rally. The weakness and incapacity of the divan having served to encourage the insubordination of the greatest part of the pachas, and to secure their independence, has prepared another not less dangerous means of destruction. Scarcely would the enemy be arrived at the centre of the empire, where the pachas of the western provinces would hasten to proceed towards their respective governments, to watch over their own particular interests. It is then beyond doubt that all, more especially the Vizir of Joannina, would seek, by fixing each his price, to save for themselves some remnant of their power from the general destruction they beheld around them.

As long as Italy has remained at least neutral in the affairs of Turkey, the intervention of France has sufficed to remove and even to dissipate the storm by which the Ottoman empire was threatened. If Italy were independent of every foreign power, and formed into a state capable of being placed in the first rank in the balance of Europe, her influence would then be still greater; since she is near at hand, and too

essentially threatens the centre of the Austrian power for the latter to make use of her forces against the dominions of Turkey. But now that Italy is at the disposal of Austria, no continental guarantee exists in favour of the Ottoman empire but that of the general interest of Europe. It therefore devolves on England to watch that this interest is not affected by a fresh overthrow of the political balance of Europe: her commerce in the Mediterranean, and the permanency of her troops in the Ionian Islands, depend on this precaution; in like manner as on the interest of this trade, and the possession of the Ionian Islands, in great measure depends the salvation of the Ottoman empire.

Before we terminate this chapter, the reader, fond of calling to mind the feats of the ancients, will not perhaps be displeased to find in this place a survey, or rather a succinct description, of the wars which the Romans carried on against the Macedonians in the provinces now belonging to the dominions of Ali Pacha. Such a research is, besides, highly illustrative of many points established in the preceding pages. This description, so well drawn by Livy, and which it has hitherto been impossible to follow by the aid of a map, owing to the deficiency of geographical information respecting the Epirus and Albania, forcibly struck the Author when he

travelled over the scenes to which it relates, and he flatters himself it will not be devoid of interest to the generality of his readers. \*

In the year of Rome 588, according to the chronology of the Capitolinian marbles, the Romans, desirous of avenging themselves on Philip, King of Macedon, who during the second Punic war had concluded a treaty of alliance with Hannibal, declared war against him. The Consul Sulpicius Galba was entrusted with the command of an army destined to act against Macedon, and which having assembled at Brindisi, crossed the sea and encamped on the River Apsus, between Mesakia and Berat. † From this position the Consul sent Apustius, one of his lieutenants, with part of the army, as well to reconnoitre the enemy's forces as to ravage the frontiers of Macedon, properly so called. Apustius, having ascended the valley of the Apsus, took and pillaged several towns or castles, among which Livy mentions *Gerrunium*,

\* The confined scale of our map having precluded part of the details necessary for the full comprehension of the text of Livy, the reader, who may feel desirous of following up the military details about to be presented, may have recourse to the map of the dominions of Ali Pacha, now publishing by Cary, Strand.

† "*Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat castra,*" &c.—Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 97.

or *Geruns* (*Zendurum*), and *Antipatria*, which, he says, was situated in a narrow defile leading to the country of the *Dessaretæ*. On his return *Apostius* was attacked at the crossing of the *Apsus* by one of Philip's generals, named *Athenagoras*; but he withdrew with advantage from this unforeseen attack, and rejoined the Consul without loss.

During this expedition *Sulpicius* concluded a treaty with the *Dardanians* and *Amynder*, King of the *Athamanes*. The first engaged to enter Macedon by the valley of the *Axius* (*Vardar*), and the province of *Pœonia*, and the other promised to prevail on the *Ætolians* to attack Philip. The latter, on his side, having been apprised of the arrival of the Consul in the *Illyrian* provinces of his dominions, did not neglect his preparations of defence. Having put an end to the active war he was carrying on against the *Athenians*, and united his fleet at *Demetrias* (near *Volo*), he proceeded with his army towards *Mount Tomarus* (*Tomerit*), and the frontiers of the *Lyncestis* district, in the direction of *Illyria*. In order to oppose the invasion of the *Dardanians*, he detached a corps under the orders of his son *Perseus*, then a child, but to whom he gave skilful generals to guide him, ordering him to march towards the frontiers of *Deuriopus*, for the purpose of defend-

ing the defiles situated there. The above district of Deuriopus formed the southern part of of Pœonia, and its frontiers were covered towards the N. by a divergent ridge of Mount Boreas, which was crossed through a defile opening between *Gurbita* (Perlepe) and *Anausarus* (Köprili), in the place marked in the Peutingerian map under the name of *Præsidium*.

The Consul, however, had quitted his position on the Apsus, and ascending its course had approached the frontiers of the Dessaretæ. He took up his quarters towards Mount Tomarus, near a river which Livy calls *Bevus*; and which must be the one passing by Noskopoli.\* Learning that Philip was approaching him with his army, and presuming that he was not far distant, he sent out a reconnoitring party of cavalry towards the country of the Dessaretæ and the lake of Ochrica. The King of Macedon had done the same, and the meeting of these two parties brought on an action, at the issue of which Philip, being informed of the position occupied by the Romans, proceeded to establish his camp very near that of the Consul. Nevertheless, believing himself not sufficiently

\* “*Ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Bevum.*”—Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 33.

strong to run the risk of a general battle, he recalled his son Perseus from Deuriopus, in order to reinforce his army by his aid. During the few days the two armies remained in this position several small actions of light troops took place, the advantage of which was on the side of the Romans, but the consul was unable to force Philip to accept a general engagement.

Sulpicius being pressed through the want of provisions, notwithstanding he had brought escorts of wheat in his rear from Apollonia, and fearing to expose his troops too much by sending them out to forage so near the enemy, \* put his army in motion, and took up a position about eight miles from his former one, near the town of *Octolophe* (Noskopoli). From thence he sent out a part of his troops to forage in the country; and Philip, in order to inspire him with more confidence, affected to keep himself shut up in his camp. The Romans in fact after some days relaxed from all precaution; when the King of Macedon having learnt that they were scattered over the country without any corps of reserve, and even without an advanced guard, came out of his camp with the whole of his cavalry and light infantry, and placed himself between the

\* “ ——— *Quia ex tam propinquis stativis parum tuta frumentatio erat, dispersos milites per agros equitibus extemplo invasuris.*” —Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 36.



foragers and their camp. Whilst Philip in person with one half of his troops occupied all the points of access, the other half attacked the dispersed Romans, and easily overcame them. Some of the fugitives having however reached their camp, and therein spread the alarm, the consul caused his cavalry to come out, followed by his legions, and marched with all possible haste to the succour of the foragers, whom he found flying in disorder, and pursued on all sides. This unforeseen attack disconcerted the Macedonians, who in their turn were put to the rout, and pursued as far as their camp. Part of them perished in a marsh near the field of battle, and Philip himself, thrown by his wounded horse, would have been taken or killed, if one of his horsemen had not supplied him with the means of escaping.

Although the battle of Octolophe did not cost the Macedonians more than about 300 men, \* Philip no longer conceived himself safe in the position he held, and for the purpose of deceiving the Consul, after sending a herald to demand a suspension of arms, under a plea of burying the dead, he put his army in motion during the night which followed the battle, and

\* “ *Ducenti Macedonum equites eo prælio perire, centum ferme capti; octoginta admodum ornati equi, spoliis simul armorum relatis, abducti.*”—Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 37.

directed his course towards the centre of his dominions. The King of Macedon first took up his position at *Bryanum* (Biklista), whence he sent Athenagoras, one of his generals, to defend the province of Pæonia, into which the Dardanians and Illyrians had entered with a numerous army. Thence having learnt that the consul approached, he again put his troops in motion, and proceeded along the frontiers of Macedon properly so called. Sulpicius, however, having discovered the departure of the Macedonians, and not knowing what road the King had taken, remained several days longer at Octolophe, in order to forage, and thence marched near *Stubera* (Konitza), whence he caused the wheat to be brought to his camp which they had been able to collect in *Pelagonia Tripolitica*. This operation being ended, the Consul, retracing his steps towards Octolophe, first marched in the direction of *Pluvina*, which was most probably situated between Gortza, Philurina, and Monastir. Having still received no news of the King of Macedon, he advanced further into the country, and pitched his camp on the margin of the Osphagus, or the river of Monastir.

Philip, nevertheless, was not far distant, being behind the river Erigon (*Vistritza*), the banks of which he had fortified, and was making every

preparation to defend the passage. Judging, however, by the manœuvres of the Roman generals, that it was their intention to penetrate into Macedonian Eordæa (corresponding to the district of Siatista and part of Dshuma-Bazar), he set about intrenching the defiles, particularly those situated between Kastoria and Philurina, which are still extremely difficult. Some were closed up by intrenchments, and others by ditches, whilst others again were to be defended by stones and trees, arranged in such manner as to be hurled down on the enemy. The length of the pikes, and the manner in which his soldiers were armed, preventing him from employing Macedonian or Thracian phalangists in the forests with which this country is covered, he placed Cretan light infantry there.

These obstacles, however, did not prevent the Romans from entering into Eordæa; the goodness of their arms covering them from the blows of the Cretans, also defended them from the stones rolled down upon them, whence they suffered less from the enemy than the difficulty of the roads, and even their loss was inconsiderable. The Consul having in a few days ravaged Eordæa, which was a poor country, he drew off towards Elymæa (the district of Grevna and Gorbista), whence he marched towards the country called Orestis, and took possession of

*Celetrum* (Kastoria). Here the text of Livy would require a long commentary, and would perhaps be impossible to explain, if the antecedents and description of *Celetrum* did not come in to our aid. Without entering into a long detail, which the Author reserves for a work on military antiquity, which at a future period he intends to publish, he will confine himself to the pointing out of the following circumstances:—1st, Sulpicius departs from Elymæa, situated near the sources of the Halyacmon, to enter the district of Orestis. 2d, After the capture of *Celetrum* he besieges and takes *Pelium* (Plia). 3d. *Celetrum* was situated on a peninsula almost surrounded by a lake.\* It is therefore evident from the two first circumstances that *Celetrum* stood nearly between Grevna and Plia; and the third can correspond to no other place than Kastoria. After the taking of *Celetrum* the consul enters into the country of the Dessaretæ, where he made himself master of *Pelium*. Having found this port convenient, and capable of securing to him the means of re-entering Macedon, he left a strong garrison there, and returned and took up his winter-quarters in Apollonia.

\* “ ——— *Oppidum Celetrum est aggressus, in peninsula situm. Lacus mœnia cingit : angustis faucibus unum ex continenti iter est.*” ÷ Liv. lib. xxxj. cap. 40.

Nevertheless the Ætolians, decided by the battle of Octolophe, as well as the invasion of the Dardanians and Illyrians, had taken the field with Amynder, King of the Athamanes. They first penetrated into the Phthiotis district, where they took *Circinium* (near Velestin), and thence having crossed the Peneus in the neighbourhood of Larissa, they made themselves masters of *Cyretia* (Tziritziani), as well as of several other small places. The Roman army being at that time preparing to return to the Epirus, the Ætolians, through the advice of Amynder, directed their march towards *Gomphi* (Kalabaki), which they expected easily to take, and which was an important post, owing to its commanding Athamania and the defiles leading through this country into Ætolia. They came and pitched their camp near *Phæca* (in the vicinity of Kalabaki), where Amynder, fortunately perceiving the insubordination which reigned in their army, separated from them, and took up a position on a height situated at a small distance. Philip, at that time relieved from the pressure of the Romans, surprised them a few days afterwards, and would entirely have destroyed them if Amynder had not first covered them by his position, and afterwards directed them in their flight through the defiles of Athamania. In another quarter Ath-

Athenagoras having come up with the Dardanians, who were retreating with a rich booty, attacked them in the defiles of Pæonia. The Dardanians, however, fighting in a courageous manner, and performing their retreat in good order, were not broken, and lost very few men. After these actions, Philip having in vain endeavoured to take *Thaumaci* (Thavmako), and being unable to sustain himself in these mountains, where the Ætolians harassed him continually, returned into Macedon to take up his winter-quarters.

The following year the charge of conducting the war against Philip was given to the Consul Villius, who established himself with his army at Corfu. The King of Macedon, on his part, having made great levies in his dominions, and enrolled many foreign troops, took the field at the commencement of spring. He first sent Athenagoras, with all his light troops, into the Epirus, in order to occupy the defiles of Klissoura.\* The king himself followed soon afterwards, and having ordered Athenagoras to take up a position on one side of the river Aous (Vojutza), on the mountain called *Asnaus*, and there to intrench with his light troops, he posted himself with the remainder of his army on the

\* ——— *Quæ ad Antigoniam fauces sunt, (Stena vocant Graeci), misit.*—Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 5.

opposite mountain, called *Æropus*. Having caused all the accessible passages to be lined with intrenchments, and armed them with a great number of warlike machines, he awaited the coming of the Roman army in this post. The consul, however, being apprised by Charops, one of the principal Epirotian chiefs, of the strong and important post occupied by Philip, left Corfu, and having landed his army on the continent, encamped on the Aous, towards Tepeleni, at five miles distance from the enemy. Having reconnoitered in order to learn the exact situation of the Macedonians, he assembled a council of war, to whose deliberation he submitted the plan of campaign that was to be followed. It was debated for some time whether it would be advisable to attack the enemy in front, or to follow the plan of campaign adopted by the Consul Sulpicius the preceding year. The summer was passed over in deliberations, and still nothing had been decided, when the news of the fresh elections arrived, and advices were brought that the Consul T. Quintius Flaminius was named to conduct the Macedonian war.

The latter, having soon afterwards joined the army, re-assembled the council of war, and again laid before it the plan of campaign that was to be followed. He possibly might have re-

solved to resume the same steps Sulpicius had chosen, if he had not feared that by removing himself to so great a distance from the sea the enemy might escape, and that Philip, availing himself of the nature of the ground, woody, and intersected with mountains, might compel him to spend the remainder of the campaign in marches and counter-marches. He therefore formed the resolution to attack the Macedonians in front; but still he was unaware how this enterprize was to be attempted.\* Forty days were passed in this state of uncertainty, and during this time he had an interview with Philip, without, however, being able to agree on the conditions of peace. At length an Epirotian shepherd, sent by Charops, presented himself to the Consul, and pointed out to him a path by which he might turn the enemy's positions. The Consul having secured the shepherd by promising him a large reward, detached under his guidance a body of 4000 infantry and 300 horse, commanded by a legionary tribune. He ordered the tribune to direct the cavalry to take up a position as soon as they arrived at that part of the road no longer practicable for horse, and to inform him, by means of a fire lighted on

\* "*Utrumque esset igitur, illo ipso tam iniquo loco aggrēdi hostem placuit; sed magis fieri id placebat, quam, quomodo fieret, satis expediebat.*"—Liv. lib. xxxii. cēp. 9.



the highest summit of the mountain, of the moment when he should have gained a position above the enemy's camp. He forbade him, however, from making any noise, or attacking before he was apprized that both armies were engaged, by a signal that was to be made to him. \*

During two whole days he harassed the enemy on all points of their intrenchments, evincing a disposition to force them. On the third day, having seen the signal of the tribune, Flaminius divided his army into three corps, and marched direct upon the enemy. Himself in person, at the head of his chosen troops, took the centre, and penetrated into the bottom of the valley, whilst his wings attacked the enemy's camps. The Macedonians came forth from their intrenchments to meet the Romans; but having been easily broken, they again fled behind their ramparts. There the Romans were stopped; and would have been repelled if the tribune had not come down in the rear of the enemy with great noise. The Macedonians, alarmed at this unforeseen attack, were soon put to the rout; and their whole army might have

\* " — *Ubi, ut polliceretur, super caput hostium perventum est, fumo dare signum: nec ante clamorem tollere, quam ab se signo accepto pugnam cœptam arbitrari posset.*" — Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 11.

been destroyed on this day if the difficulty of the roads had not impeded the Roman cavalry, and also the legionary infantry, through the weight of their arms.

The king was not the last to escape; but being arrived at five miles distance from the field of battle, and seeing that he could not be pursued, he halted, and attempted to rally his army. The greatest part of the fugitives had gained the woods, and were proceeding with all haste towards Thessaly, so that he was unable to collect more than about 2000 men, with whom he continued his retreat with so much rapidity, that the first day he arrived at a place called *Castra Pyrrhi* (near Ostanitza), and the second at Mount *Lingon* (Metzovo), which separates the Epirus from Thessaly and Macedon.\* There Philip remained several days, undecided whether he should at once retire into Macedon or enter into Thessaly. He however formed the project of disbanding his army in the latter province, and withdrew by *Tricca* (Trikala),

\* "*Rex primo die ad Castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus, quem ita vocant, est in Triphylia terræ Melotidis; inde postero die (ingens iter agminis, sed metus urgebat) in montem Lingon perrexit: ipsi montes Epiri sunt, interjecti Macedonia Thessaliæque. Latus, quod vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat: septentrio à Macedonia objicitur.*"—Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 13.

sacking and devastating the towns he found on his road. Having been unable to open the gates of Pheræ, he entered into Macedon.

The Ætolians at the news of the success gained by the Romans near the river Aous then entered into the valley of the Sperchius, and, having taken *Sperchium* (Kerbenesz), proceeded on into Thessaly, through the valley of the *Apidanus* (Apidano), and attempted to seize on *Metropolis* (Phlamaristi); but having been repelled by the inhabitants, after some other incursions, and after ravaging the whole of the country situated on the left of the Peneus, they took the castle of *Cyphara* (Korza), which commanded the passages from Thessaly into Ætolia, and the country of the Athamanes and Dolopes. Amynder, however, placing no great reliance on his own people, demanded and obtained a body of Roman troops, with which he first took the town of Phœca, situated at a small distance from Kalabaki, on the northern declivity of Mount Agrapho, and afterwards straitened the town of *Gomphi* (Kalabaki) so much that he compelled it to surrender. This double incursion, and particularly the last, spread so much terror throughout Thessaly, that this province no longer thought

of opposing the smallest resistance to the Roman army that was approaching.

After the victory gained over Philip, the consul re-entered his camp the same day, being satisfied with only causing the passages to be guarded. The next day he passed the defiles of the Aous, and having encamped between Klissoura and Premiti, he sent orders to his lieutenant at Corfu to cause the transports to proceed into the gulf of Ambracia. He then proceeded on by slow marches, and the fourth day encamped on Mount *Cercetius* (between Zagoria and Metzovo). Being arrived on the frontiers of Thessaly, he caused Amynder with his Athamanes to join him, not that he stood in need of their aid, but to serve as guides to his army. Being joined by these auxiliaries, he entered Thessaly, and first took *Phalera*, situated between Metzovo and Kalabaki. The towns of *Metropolis* (Phlamaristi) and *Pieria* (Akia) sent deputies to him with terms of submission. From *Phalera* Flaminius descended to *Æginium*, (Mokossi), but having judged this post to be unsailable, he marched on Gomphi, resolving to stop in the vicinity of the latter place till he was assured that the transports had arrived in the gulf of Ambracia (of Arta). From his camp he sent several cohorts in echelons to Ambracia, to bring back the provisions of which

he stood in need. \* Between Gomphi and Ambracia a difficult road at that time existed, but shorter than that of Mount Lingon (Metzovo); it is the same that now passes through Pirra, Todoriana, and Trikala, near Arta. Having supplied his army with provisions, he resumed his march, and encamped not far from Larissa, near a place called *Atrax* (Turnavo). Philip, on his side, not finding himself warmly pursued, had established his camp in the valley of Tempe.

Flaminius besieged Atrax, but fearful that the vigorous resistance of the garrison would greatly protract his operations, and that he might thereby be compelled to pass the winter in Thessaly, he was under the necessity of discontinuing the siege. Thessaly, ravaged by Philip, was not in a state to afford him the means of subsistence; and Acarnania and Ætolia had no ports capable of receiving his ships of burden intended to furnish him with supplies. He therefore resolved to winter in Phocia, and seize on the port of *Anticyra* (Aspropiti), which appeared most commodious for his fleet. Having thus quitted his camp at Atrax, he en-

\* “ — *Explorato ante, utrum Leucadem, an sinum Ambraciam onerariæ tenuissent, frumentatum Ambraciam in vicem cohortes misit; et est iter à Gomphís Ambraciam, sicut impeditum ac difficile ita spatium perbreve.* ” — *Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 15.*

tered into Phocis, and took Anticyra after a weak resistance. *Ambryssus* (Arakova), *Hiampolis* (Kiapori), *Daulis* (Daulia), and several other places of smaller import, were likewise carried in the same manner; but it was necessary to lay a regular siege to *Elatia* (Turkochori). This town having at length been compelled to surrender, after an obstinate resistance, the Consul Flaminius put his army into winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris.

The following year, on a proposition of the tribunes of the people, Appius and Fulvius, the command of the Macedonian army was continued to Flaminius, with the title of Proconsul. At the commencement of the year, Philip, who was in winter-quarters at Demetrias (near Volo), having requested an interview with the proconsul, this took place in *Nicæa* (Nissa), near to Zeitoun, whither the deputies of Amynder, of Attalus, King of Pergamo, as well as of the Ætolians and Achaïans, accompanied Flaminius. This first interview having produced no result, as well as a second, which took place the following day, a third was agreed on the day afterwards, at *Thronium*. Philip, having agreed, as a preliminary condition, to withdraw his garrison from the districts of Phocis and Locris, obtained a suspension of arms for two months, for the purpose of sending ambassadors

to Rome. But the Roman senate having referred the conclusion of the negotiations to Flaminius, the Proconsul, who was by no means displeased with the prolongation of a war which promised him success, refused to receive new envoys from the King of Macedon till the latter had evacuated the whole of Greece.

The time for commencing the campaign having arrived, Flaminius made himself master of Thebes by surprise, and by this means decided the Bœotians to enter into an alliance with him. After this he rejoined his army near Elatia, and having put it in motion, he passed the Thermopylæ, and entered into the district of Phthiotis, where he was joined by Amynder with 1200 infantry, and also received a reinforcement of 800 Cretans, or Apollonians. The Ætolians had already sent to him, whilst at Elatia, 2000 foot and 400 horse. Philip, on his part, also assembled his army, composed of 16,000 Phalangists, 2000 Peltastæ, or light troops, 2000 Trallians, about 1000 hired troops of different nations, and 2000 cavalry. The Roman army had nearly the same strength in infantry, but, through the aid of the Ætolians, it was superior in cavalry. Flaminius entered Phthiotis, encamped near *Thebæ Phthioticæ* (Armiro), and having learnt that the King of Macedon had entered Thessaly with his army, he ordered his soldiers to

prepare palissades to fortify his camp, and to carry them with them, according to the custom of the Roman troops.

From Thebes the Proconsul proceeded on in military order by slow marches, and arrived and pitched his camp six miles from Pheræ, (Velestin), whence he sent a reconnoitring party into Thessaly. The King of Macedon, however, who had assembled his forces near Larissa, having been apprised that the Roman army was near Pheræ, marched in advance of it, and took up a position four miles from the latter town, which thus became situated between the two armies. Here an action of cavalry took place on the heights above Pheræ, which each party sought to occupy, the one to open a road into Thessaly, and the other the better to defend the entrance. However, these difficulties of the surrounding ground, covered as it was with thick woods, and intersected with gardens, fences, and ruins, having made each general apprehensive of an ambuscade, by a species of tacit accord, they determined to change their positions, and to approach *Scotussa* (Chalcedonio). The Proconsul being obliged almost to retrace his own steps, in order to gain the valley of Pharsalia, encamped at *Eretria* (Erineï), and Philip on the banks of the Onchestus, the small river passing by Rizomilon. On the



following day Flaminius pitched his camp in a place called *Thetidium*, near Pharsalia, and the King of Macedon at *Melambium*, towards Scotussa. Separated in their march by the crests of the hills extending between Pharsalia and Veleslin, the two generals reciprocally were ignorant of each other's position; and a fog which prevailed on the third day prevented the Romans from effecting a movement.

Philip, desirous to advance as fast as he could, without being deterred by the fog which covered the earth, put his army in motion; but the darkness preventing the standard-bearers from seeing their road, and the soldiers also from following them, he halted on the top of the hill called *Cynoscephalæ*, and ordered the camps to be pitched.\* Flaminius having remained in his camp at Thetidium, sent a reconnoitering party towards Scotussa, composed of 300 horse and 1000 infantry. This party, on arriving near the hills where the Macedonian camp was established, sent to inform the Proconsul of the vicinity of the enemy, and entered

\* "*Sed tam densa caligo obcæcaverat diem, ut neque signiferi viam, nec signa milites cernerent; agmen ad incertos clamores vagum velut errore nocturno turbaretur. Supergressi tumulos, qui Cynoscephalæ vocantur, relicta ibi statione firma peditum equitumque, posuerunt castra.*"—Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 7.

into action with Philip's advanced guard. The disproportion of numbers at first caused the Romans to be repulsed, till Flaminius, at the reiterated demand of the commander of the party, ordered them to be sustained by 500 horse and 2000 foot, headed by two legionary tribunes. The Macedonians, in their turn defeated, demanded succours of the king, who sent Athenagoras to them with all his auxiliary troops and cavalry. The Romans were then driven from the heights, and their defeat would have been complete if the Ætolian cavalry, the best of Greece, had not covered their retreat.

Philip being informed of the flight of the Romans, hastened to bring out his army in order to pursue them, and Flaminius was compelled to accept battle. Having placed the Roman legions in reserve, and covered their front by the elephants, he marched towards the enemy with the allied legions and light infantry; whilst Philip,\* who had issued from his camp with his phalanx and the Peltastæ, descended the hill at a quick pace, having previously ordered Nicanor, one of his generals, to follow him with the remainder of his army. Meeting his troops put to flight by the shock of the

\* "*Dextrum cornu, elephantis ante signa instructis, in subsidii reliquit: lævo cum omni levi armatura in hostem vadit.*"—  
Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 8.

legions of Flaminius, he hesitated for a moment, but the approach of the Romans obliged him to decide, and he hastened to draw up his forces in battle array. He stationed his cavalry and light infantry on the right wing, and ordered his phalanx to lay aside the pike, which was too inconvenient, and to make use of their swords.\* He at the same time doubled the ranks of his phalanx, which he drew up 32 deep.

Flaminius, having caused his combatants to enter the ranks, gave the signal for battle. The right wing of the Macedonians, favoured by the nature of the ground, at first had the advantage over the allied legion; but the phalanx, whose depth rendered it more suitable for a march than battle, was thrown into disorder in the act of advancing. The Proconsul seeing this inconvenience, thought of availing himself of it, and notwithstanding his right wing began to lose ground, he caused the phalanx to be charged by the elephants. This attack succeeded, and the front ranks being overthrown on the hind ones, carried confusion among them. A legionary tribune then detaching

\* "*Equites levemque armaturam, qui in prælio fuerant, dextro in cornu locat; catratos et Macedonem phalangem, hastis positis, quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem gerere jubet.*"—Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 8.

himself with twenty companies from the right wing, which he beheld ready to gain the victory, turned the right wing of the enemy, and attacked him in the rear. \* The defeat then became complete; and Philip, who at first had retired to an elevation a little in the rear, seeing that his left wing was equally beaten, and that the enemy approached him on all sides, fled to *Gonnus*, in the valley of Tempe, with the remains of his army, and remained there for several days, endeavouring to rally his troops. The loss of the Macedonians in this battle amounted to 8000 killed and 5000 prisoners, and the conquerors lost 700 men. Soon afterwards Philip sent to demand peace, and obtained it, but on hard conditions.

Twenty-six years afterwards, under the consulate of P. Licinius and C. Cassius, the war broke out afresh between the Romans and Perseus, son and successor to Philip. The Consul Licinius, to whom the care of this war was confided, embarked with his army at Brindisi, and having landed at port Nymphæum, (Dragot), near Apollonia, he first encamped there, in order to make preparations to take the field.

\* “ *Unus è tribunis militum, extemplo capto consilio, cum viginti signorum militibus, relicta eâ parte suorum, quæ haud dubiè vincebat, brevi circuitu dextrum cornu hostium aversum invadit.*”—Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 9.

Perseus, on his side, had assembled his army under the walls of *Citium*, a town of Macedon, most probably situated in the neighbourhood of Pella. He found his army consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse.\* Having learnt that the Consul had commenced his march from Nymphæum, through the Epirus, the King of Macedon hastened to be the first to take the field. Crossing over the district of Eordæa, and ascending the course of the Erigon (Inichori), he encamped near Lake *Begorrites* (the lake of Kastoria), whence he proceeded to Elymæa, on the banks of the Halyacmon, that is, towards Grevna. He afterwards crossed the mountains, and marched towards the valley of Tempe, where he attempted to take Gyrton (Baba); but the Roman garrison having opposed him in too strenuous a manner, he turned off towards the castles of Gonnus and Elatia, situated near the passage of the Peneus, which he surprised. Having again fortified these two posts, which secured to him the passage of the valley of Tempe, he encamped near *Sycurium* (Castro-Siguro).

\* “*Ipsæ (Perseus) — profectus Citium est. Eo jam omnes Macedonum externorumque auxiliorum convenerant copie. Castra ante urbem ponit, omnesque armatos in campo struxit — Summa totius exercitus triginta novem millia peditum erant, quatuor equitum.*”—Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 51.

During this time the Consul, having crossed over the Epirus, was conducting his forces on Gomphi (Kalabaki), by Mount Metzovo ; a very rash enterprise, which might have brought on the loss of the Roman army if Perseus had been aware of the advantages of defending these passes.\* Licinius having refreshed his troops at Gomphi, proceeded on to Larissa, and encamped in the vicinity of that place. The two armies remained for some time in inaction, till Perseus, desirous of drawing the Romans to battle, undertook to ravage the whole country round Pheræ (Velestin), whose inhabitants were their allies. At length seeing that the Consul remained shut up within his lines, the King of Macedon posted himself in an intrenched camp five miles from the Romans. This vicinity brought on an action of light troops and cavalry, in which the Romans lost 2000 men. After this action the Consul withdrew behind the Peneus, and Perseus encamped between the valley of Tempe and Larissa.

Nevertheless, after several marches and counter-marches which the Romans performed on

\* “ *Consul Romanus per eodem dies Thessaliam cum exercitu petens, iter expeditum primò per Epirum habuit ; deinde postquam in Athamaniam est, transgressus asperi ac prope invii soli, cum ingenti difficultate parvis itineribus ægrè Gomphos pervenit.*”—Liv. lib. xlii. cap. 55.

the other side of the Peneus, and towards *Cranum* (Czataldza), for the purposes of foraging, Perseus having attacked their foragers near *Phalanna* (Dirilli), was beaten, and compelled to retire to *Mopsius* (Klisesi), whence he entered into Macedon, there to take up his winter-quarters. The Consul, after making a fruitless attempt on Gonnus, and ravaging the district of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa, whence he passed into Bœotia, and there put his army into winter-quarters.

The following year the Consul Hostilius, who was commissioned to conduct the Macedonian war, performed nothing of importance. Appius Claudius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent to *Lychnidus* (Ochrida), among the *Dessaretæ*, fell into a snare laid for him by the inhabitants of *Uscana* (Istarda), and lost near 2000 men; this town was, however, soon afterwards taken. Perseus seeing that the Consul did not quit Thessaly, availed himself of his inaction, and retook *Uscana*. Not content with this first success, he attacked and successively took *Stubera* (Konitza) and *Æneum* (Samarina). Having afterwards crossed over into Elymæa, and seeing that the Consul still remained stationary, he passed over Mount Citius, notwithstanding the great snows, in order to surprise *Stratus* (Enkili-Kastri); but Popilius, one of

Hostilius' lieutenants having proceeded there by forced marches from Ambracia (Arta), Perseus was compelled to renounce his project and to return into Macedon.

The third year of the war, the Consul Marcus assumed the command of the army which he found in the neighbourhood of Pharsalia. Resolved to enter Macedon, but being unable to perform this operation either through the valley of Tempe or Mount Olympus, whose passages were held by Perseus, he determined to make a great circuit. The King of Macedon was encamped near *Dium* (not far from *Standia*), on the sea-side, with his principal forces. He had detached a corps towards the castle of *Lapethus* (Livadi), to guard the defiles leading from Larissa and Alassona, and a second corps guarded the Cambunian Mountains. The consul first gained the district of Tripolis and the sources of the Aous near Tochali, and thence proceeding along the crests of the mountains, not to engage in Elymæa, he presented himself before Lapethus by a road on which he was not expected; and, having forced this passage, he descended towards the sea-side near *Heraclea* (Litochoro). Perseus in alarm withdrew to Pydna; and the Consul, having proceeded onwards in the direction of Dium, ordered his lieutenant Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to



seize on the passages of the valley of Tempe. Marcius, having pillaged Dium, and caused Heraclea to be taken by one of his lieutenants, returned himself to the latter place, where he established his winter-quarters, receiving his supplies of provisions from Thessaly. Perseus, finding that the Romans had quitted Dium, returned there, and encamped five miles beyond the place, behind a small river called Enipeus.

Finally, the fourth year the Consul Æmilius Paullus, having forced Perseus to a general battle near Pydna, obtained over this prince a complete victory. The inequality of the ground having broken the Macedonian phalanx, the Consul, who had foreseen this circumstance and had disposed his order of battle in conformity thereto, availed himself of it to beat the phalanx in detail, and put it into disorder. The Macedonians lost 20,000 killed and 11,000 prisoners; and Perseus being soon after taken in the island of Samothrace, Macedon became a Roman province.

We may conclude from the result of the campaigns of which we have just given an outline, 1st, That the expedition of Sulpicius did not succeed; because Philip, having occupied the passages of the Epirus and Thessaly, and the vicinity of his army preventing the people of Ætolia from declaring in favour of the Romans,

the Consul not only lost his time in forcing the passage of Mount Tomerit, but also in seizing on all the posts necessary to cover his communications. The Roman army, on arriving in Elymæa, was unable to sustain itself there while the Macedonians were in the Epirus, and between the above army and the sea. The consul was therefore compelled to return to Apollonia, and lost the fruits of his campaign.

2dly, That the campaign of Flaminius was attended with the greatest success, because, this general having forced the passage of the defile of Klissoura, and compelled Philip to evacuate the Epirus, the success of this expedition decided the Ætolians and Athamanes to make a diversion in eastern Thessaly, the effect of which was to force the king of Macedon to enter into his kingdom, and to abandon southern Greece to the Consul.

3dly, That the two first campaigns against Perseus had no remarkable result, because the Roman generals, not knowing how to avail themselves of advantages afforded to them by the basis of operations they might have established, on the one side in Thessaly and Ætolia, and on the other in Illyria, lost their time in useless marches and in fruitless incursions.

4thly, That in the third campaign the result of the daring, and possibly rash, march of the Con-

and Marcius having given him the undisputed possession of the defiles leading from Thessaly into Macedon, this operation prepared the fall of Persous. This king, attacked in the heart of his dominions, at the same time that he was threatened on the north by the Dardanians, had no other hopes of salvation than in a decisive victory.

The general recapitulation of the above observations may easily lead to consequences applicable to the present times. These are, that Dalmatia and the Ionian Islands are the real keys of the Ottoman dominions, and that Italy is beyond doubt the most advantageous basis of operations against this empire. Whatever may be the difference between the age in which the events we have just sketched took place and the present one, the leading traits are the same. The dominion of the last kings of Macedon was not very different from the actual state of the Ottoman empire in Europe. In addition to Macedon and southern Illyria which constituted their patrimony, they governed Thessaly, Greece, properly so called, the Epirus, Peloponnesus, and Thrace, only through their influence. Northern Illyria and Dardania with regard to them were in the same position as Albania and Servia now stand in towards the Ottomans, always ready to take part against their

rulers as soon as their own chiefs could rely on foreign aid.

The Romans, holding Corfu at their disposal, attacked Macedon through the Epirus; and from the time they were masters of the latter province, and of the chain of mountains which separate Thessaly from the above kingdom, the whole of Greece was lost to the Macedonian kings. This blow struck at their power, which from that moment did no other than decline, and thirty years afterwards was dashed to the ground. In like manner, at the present time, that power which may be mistress of Italy, and also possessed of Dalmatia and the Ionian Islands, might, by following the same plan, cause the Ottomans to lose one-half of their empire in Europe in a single campaign, and threaten the rest with an early and inevitable fall. The union of these two keys in a single hand must infallibly produce the result we have just delineated: divided between two different hands, the second alone is capable of effecting the safety of the Crescent. The year 1811 was to the Ottoman empire the nearest and most probable term of its fall; the whole of the elements which might have accelerated it were then in one powerful hand. The decree of fate ward off the storm, and it cannot be again formed under so threatening an aspect, as long

the power, to whom the protection of the Ionian Islands is confided, equally wishes to shield the Ottoman empire, or at least, to promote the indivisibility of that part of the European continent over which the Crescent holds sway, should it be resolved that this shall no longer be under the Mussulman dominion.

THE END.




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